

The University of Chicago

ENCOURAGEMENT OF  
LITERARY PRODUCTION IN GREECE  
FROM HOMER TO ALEXANDER

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE  
FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE  
HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY FOR THE  
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF GREEK LANGUAGE  
AND LITERATURE

1933

By  
WINIFRED ELBERTA WETER

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## PREFACE

I wish to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to Professor Robert J. Bonner who suggested the subject and made valuable suggestions. I also wish to thank Professor Gertrude Smith for her helpful advice and assistance.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                                                     |      |
|-----------------------------------------------------|------|
|                                                     | Page |
| INTRODUCTION . . . . .                              | 1    |
| Chapter                                             |      |
| I. THE HOMERIC BARD . . . . .                       | 5    |
| II. THE TYRANTS . . . . .                           | 13   |
| Periander--Cleisthenes--Polycrates--                |      |
| The Pisistratidae--Thessaly--The Sicilian           |      |
| Tyrants--Macedonia                                  |      |
| III. PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS AS PATRONS . . . . .       | 63   |
| IV. LITERATURE AND RELIGION . . . . .               | 70   |
| V. THE SPARTAN ATTITUDE TOWARD LITERATURE . . . . . | 79   |
| VI. THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY . . . . .                | 91   |



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## INTRODUCTION

Literary men of all ages have depended upon the encouragement, both spiritual and material, that may be provided by persons of wealth and influence. Literary patronage in its strictest sense connotes the support, either in the form of monetary assistance or in encouragement or both, given to literary men by individuals interested in their success. Such individual patrons may be moved by a genuine interest in literature, or by other motives, such as the desire for personal glory. Patronage of this sort is usually found in an aristocratic society, since individual patrons are almost exclusively drawn either from the ruling class or from the nobility, whose members are men of wealth and leisure. But stimulus to literature is not limited to individual assistance, and in a broader sense the term may include all sources of encouragement to literary activity.

In the days before the printed book and a large reading public the need of an author for an influential and generous patron was much greater than it is today. In ancient Greece books were scarce and readers few. Knowledge of the events of the day and the new literary productions was gained not through the medium of the eye but through that of the ear. It was not always easy for a young poet to win a reputation before a Greek audience, which was always prone to be critical. To win the favor of an influential patron was a step toward his general acceptance as an author of ability.

Individual patrons played an important part in the support and encouragement of Greek poets. Hieron of Syracuse gathered a group of literary geniuses about him. Aeschylus, Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides found in him a generous patron. The courts of other tyrants also had their poets laureate. In Macedonia the ruling family, from the time of Alexander, son of Amyntas, until the time of Alexander the Great was interested in Hellenic culture, and gave substantial encouragement to Hellenic authors. Prominent and wealthy citizens, such as the millionaire Callias or the family of Critias, were interested in literary endeavor.

Besides the encouragement given by individuals there are other phases of literary stimulus equally as important for Greek literature. Patronage of literature by the rulers is in a sense state patronage. When the state becomes a democracy it is unusual to find state patronage of literature continuing. But writers in

the fifth century found their surest patron in the Athenian democracy. The Athenian people, and in fact the Greeks everywhere, were intensely interested in literary achievement. Comedies such as the Frogs whose theme was literary criticism could not have succeeded unless interest in literature was widespread and most of the audience was familiar with the literary activity of the day. The frequent parodies of all types of Greek poetry found in Aristophanes indicate his audiences' familiarity with literature of all kinds. The quotations of poetry occurring in such works as the history of Herodotus further indicate how general was a knowledge of literature. The criticisms and discussions of literature found throughout the works of Plato point in the same direction. Literary interest in Greece was not confined to the Athens of the age of Pericles. During the fifth century it was found throughout the Greek cities. In earlier times other places had been the centers. In Sparta interest in poetry was at its height during the seventh and sixth centuries. At that time many foreign poets were residing in Sparta and that city must have been the place which offered the greatest opportunities for poets. During the age of the tyrants their courts were the gathering places of literary men. Had the subjects of these tyrants been uninterested in things literary their patronage of literature would in many cases have been less enthusiastic, since it was often a means of maintaining popular support.

Another source of encouragement to Greek literature which can not be ignored is found in religion. Religion influenced the forms taken by poetic expression. It also provided an opportunity for the presentation of literary productions. Festivals offered opportunities for the composition of hymns and ritual poetry. Besides this the contests which nearly always were a part of the festivals afforded a chance for the presentation of works of almost every character.

The political situation, especially when it was one of sedition and unrest, sometimes had a profound effect upon poetry. In Lesbos toward the close of the seventh century there were continual struggles between the democratic and aristocratic parties. Pittacus was chosen aesymnetes in 589 but was always violently opposed by the extreme oligarchical faction. Of the two great Lesbian poets who lived during this period Sappho seems to have been exiled, probably for political reasons, but the political situation left no impress on her extant poetry.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the poems of her compatriot Alcaeus are full of intense po-

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<sup>1</sup>Schmid-Stählin, Griechische Literatur Geschichte (Munich, 1929), I, Band I, 410, n. 3, 417.



litical feeling. He was a champion of the aristocratic party and regarded any concession to popular government as an evil. One of his best known poems pictures the ship of state tossed on a sea of strife and storm.<sup>1</sup> The dictator Pittacus was lashed with scorn in some of his poems.<sup>2</sup> But Pittacus seems not to have resented these attacks and in the end Alcaeus was reconciled with him.<sup>3</sup>

The continual struggle between oligarchs and democrats in Megara is reflected in much of the poetry of Theognis. Invariably he regards the aristocrats as ἀγαθοί, the democrats as κακοί. He fears that the city may bring forth a leader to chastise its evil violence.<sup>4</sup> He describes with some bitterness the sad state of his city under a democratic government,<sup>5</sup> and in his verses the ship of state is guided by ignorant and unruly sailors who prevent the skilled pilot from taking the helm and steering the city safely through her troubles.<sup>6</sup>

Solon, the great Athenian law-giver, found poetry an effective medium for the expression of his political beliefs. He describes the condition of the city when it was ill-governed and filled with sedition and contrasts that condition with an orderly government.<sup>7</sup> He describes the ideal situation with the demos allowed some power and guided by a competent leader.<sup>8</sup> His poetical ability enabled him to gain the island of Salamis for Athens. There had been a law that inflicted the death penalty on anyone who mentioned Salamis but Solon appeared in the market-place in the guise of a madman and recited the stirring poem which aroused the Athenians to capture the island.<sup>9</sup> This incident in connection with Salamis indicates not only the influence of politics on poetry but also the interest of the Athenians in poetic achievement. Any ordinary statement might not have gained their attention and might have aroused their indignation but the poem appealed to their imaginations.

At certain times in certain places there are evidences of increased intellectual activity. Ionia in the seventh and sixth centuries is a particular example. During this time the intellectual life of the Ionian cities and particularly of Miletus seems to have received an impetus. Miletus was a center of the logog-

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<sup>1</sup>Fr. 30 D.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. frr. 31, 87 D.

<sup>3</sup>J. A. Symonds, Studies of the Greek Poets (3rd ed.; London, 1893), I, 295; C. M. Bowra, Greek Lyric Poetry from Alcman to Simonides (Oxford, 1936), pp. 146 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Theognis 39 ff.

<sup>5</sup>43 ff.

<sup>6</sup>667 ff.

<sup>7</sup>Fr. 3 D.

<sup>8</sup>Fr. 5 D.

<sup>9</sup>Fr. 2 D. Cf. Symonds, op. cit., I, 230 ff.

raphers, the first writers of what may be called history. Hecataeus, one of the earliest who is much more than a shadowy name, was a native of Miletus. The historian Herodotus was an Ionian. Philosophy also flourished in Ionia. The three earliest figures in Greek philosophy, Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes, were natives of Miletus. Intellectual activity was found also in the western Greek cities. Pythagoras, an Ionian, went to Italy and a group of thinkers seems to have gathered about him. Other philosophers, Empedocles for instance, were natives of western Greece. Just why these places should have been intellectual centers is not entirely explainable. Miletus in the sixth century was a flourishing commercial city which carried on trade in all directions. Perhaps the broad horizon was an incentive to broadening thought. There is no indication that any definite sort of patronage or encouragement of intellectual activity was at work which would have attracted thinkers. Rather it seems to have been a spontaneous growth.

Besides literature other forms of art, especially architecture and sculpture, reached a high development in Greece. The patronage of these arts is somewhat related to the patronage of literature. In many cases the same men who were interested in literature were also interested in the other arts. Not only the patrons but the motives for patronage were similar.

The purpose of this dissertation is to consider all the sources of encouragement offered to authors in Greece from the time of Homer until that of Alexander the Great. The forms taken by literary patronage, the motives behind it, where they can be determined, and the results to the men who were the recipients of this patronage will be discussed as fully as is possible from the information which is now available.



CHAPTER I  
THE HOMERIC BARD

A discussion of literary patronage must start with the beginnings of Greek literature, and hence with a consideration of the position of the bard in Homeric society, as far as it can be discovered from a study of the Homeric poems.

Even in the Homeric period the Greeks had begun to show their keen interest in things intellectual and literary. That they were interested in epic poetry is clear from the frequency with which a bard reciting the deeds of men appears in the Odyssey. Lyric poetry also was developing. On the shield of Achilles a cheerful wedding song arose.<sup>1</sup> That remarkable shield also portrayed a vintage scene, with a boy who played the lyre and sang the fair Linus Song while the others danced.<sup>2</sup> The song of Ares and Aphrodite which Demodocus sang while the Phaeacians danced has lyric qualities.<sup>3</sup> The charm of oratory had already been strongly felt in this age. As Helen on the walls of Troy points out the Achaeans to Priam, Antenor speaks of the eloquence of Odysseus.<sup>4</sup> Odysseus himself once spoke of the pleasure men derived from beholding and harkening to an excellent speaker whom men gazed upon as on a god.<sup>5</sup> The cogency of a speaker's remarks, his choice of words, his delivery, and his voice were all noted by the audience, who might be swayed by a skillful orator but who remained untouched by ill-phrased words.<sup>6</sup>

The tale of the Thracian Thamyris, a legendary figure even to Homer and the only poet named by him,<sup>7</sup> provides some information on the position of poets in the society of the period. Thamyris boasted that he could surpass the Muses themselves in singing, so as he was coming from Oechalia they met him, deprived him of his sight, and took away his gift of song.<sup>8</sup> This story

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<sup>1</sup>Il. xviii. 493.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 569 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Od. viii. 266 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Il. iii. 204 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Od. viii. 169 ff.

<sup>6</sup>For an account of the attitude of the Homeric Greeks toward oratory cf. Gertrude Smith, "Homeric Orators and Auditors," Classical Journal, XXI (1926), 355 ff.

<sup>7</sup>W. C. Wright, Greek Literature (New York, 1907), p. 9.

<sup>8</sup>Il. ii. 594 ff.

affords a glimpse of a poet who has taken part in contests of rhapsodes and who was the guest of chieftains,<sup>1</sup> an itinerant singer traveling over the countryside, stopping to sing for any prince who was interested, lingering wherever he received an unusually cordial reception.

As might be expected in a poem which tells of men engaged in war with neither time nor inclination for literary recreation there is little mention in the Iliad of music or song. The fortunes of war sometimes provide occasions for songs such as the dirge<sup>2</sup> or the song of victory.<sup>3</sup> After the sacrifice to Apollo at Chryse the embassy spent the day propitiating the god with song and he, hearing the lovely paean, took delight.<sup>4</sup> Here the song is part of the ritual, perhaps the earliest indication of the important role religion was to play in the encouragement of literary production in Greece. Almost nothing can be gleaned from the Iliad concerning the position occupied by the bard in the life of the times. The only reference to a bard as such in the Iliad is found in the description of the shield of Achilles. Among other scenes of peaceful life there was pictured a dancing ground like that built by Daedalus for Ariadne. Around it stood a throng of spectators and there a bard played the lyre and sang while two tumblers performed.<sup>5</sup> The bard was not only a rhapsodist but he played and sang as an accompaniment to the evolutions of the dance.

At the banquet of the gods described in the first book of the Iliad Apollo played on the lyre while the Muses sang.<sup>6</sup> Since the gods indulged in music after their feasting, mortal feasts must also have been crowned with song, and since it was none other than Apollo who entertained the gods it may be assumed that the bards who charmed the hearts of men were treated with honor, as is found to be the case in the Odyssey. The delegation sent in the hope of persuading Achilles to return to the fray found him sitting before his tent playing the lyre and singing of the deeds of men,<sup>7</sup> the theme which most frequently drew the attention of the bards. Paris, too, was a skillful musician.<sup>8</sup> If even the greatest of the chieftains were trained in music it should be a further indication that the bard was a person who held no menial position, but rather was highly respected.

In the Odyssey, which not only relates grim adventures

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<sup>1</sup>Jebb, Homer: An Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey (7th ed.; Glasgow, 1905), pp. 2 and 75 f.

<sup>2</sup>xxiv. 720 ff.

<sup>3</sup>xxii. 391.

<sup>4</sup>i. 472 ff.

<sup>5</sup>xviii. 590 ff. Ll. 604-5, which mention the bard are bracketed by some editors. Cf. Od. iv. 17-18.

<sup>6</sup>i. 603 ff.

<sup>7</sup>ix. 185 ff.

<sup>8</sup>iii. 54.

but also depicts scenes of revelry, the references to bards and their activities are frequent.<sup>1</sup> Each royal menage counted as one of its most respected members a bard who entertained the entourage and guests on occasions of festivity and accompanied his recitations on the lyre, "which the gods made the companion of the feast."<sup>2</sup> Entertainment was provided at the palace of Menelaos by a bard who played the lyre and sang. Not only did he charm the guests by his ballads but he also accompanied the evolutions of the tumblers.<sup>3</sup> At the home of Odysseus in Ithaca dwelt the bard Phemius who, when the suitors of Penelope were feasting, entertained them with song, albeit under compulsion.<sup>4</sup> Demodocus, λαοῖσι τετιμένον,<sup>5</sup> held an enviable position at the court of the Phaeacian ruler, Alcinous. "Him the Muse loved exceedingly, and gave him both good and evil. She took away his eyes but gave him the gift of sweet song,"<sup>6</sup> that he might sing however his heart urged him. When the feasting was to begin a herald whose particular duty it was to wait upon the blind bard was dispatched to lead him to the banquet hall. He sat on a silver throne in the midst of the company, with his lyre hung on a nearby pillar where his hand could easily reach it. A fine table was spread before him that he might delight his soul with feasting and a wine skin was placed beside him that he might drink whenever he desired.<sup>7</sup> Not only the master but also the guests honored the singer. Odysseus himself cut off a choice slice of meat for Demodocus, "that I, though grieved at heart may honor him, for bards should receive honor from all mortal men, because the Muse who loves the race of bards has taught them song."<sup>8</sup>

That the position of the minstrel was an enviable one is evident even to the casual glance. The epithets which are associated with the bard would suggest that he was no ordinary person, if there were no other basis for such a belief. He is most frequently called θεῖος,<sup>9</sup> which as applied to bards probably means "sacred" or "under divine protection." That the person of a min-

<sup>1</sup>Cf. C. M. Bowra, Tradition and Design in the Iliad (Oxford, 1930), pp. 27 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Od. xvii. 271. Cf. viii. 99 and xxi. 430.

<sup>3</sup>iv. 17. This passage is omitted by some editors because of the repetition in the Il. xviii. 604 f. However the presence of the bard at the wedding feast is to be expected.

<sup>4</sup>Od. i. 154.

<sup>5</sup>viii. 472.

<sup>6</sup>viii. 63-64. Cf. viii. 44-45.

<sup>7</sup>viii. 62 ff.

<sup>8</sup>viii. 477 ff.

<sup>9</sup>Il. xviii. 604; Od. i. 336; iv. 17; viii. 43, 47, 87, 539; xiii. 27; xvi. 252; xvii. 359; xxiii. 133, 143; xxiv. 439.

strel was more sacred than that of an ordinary individual is illustrated by the plea of Phemius for his life. He asserted that he had served the suitors not by his own desire but under the compulsion of men numerous and powerful enough to enforce their bidding. This apology was reinforced by the plea that Odysseus would later have cause for regret if he slew a bard:

αὐτῷ τοι μετόπισθ' ἄχος ἔσσεται, εἴ κεν Δοιδόν  
κέφνης, ὃς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι δαΐδω.<sup>1</sup>

There was no doubt a peculiar sanctity attached to the bard's person to support such a plea, but whether it was strong enough to have deterred Odysseus had he really made up his mind to slay the bard is perhaps open to question. Not only was his person sacred but the bard was regarded as divinely inspired.<sup>2</sup> Demodocus' gift of song was bequeathed by the Muse.<sup>3</sup> Phemius according to his own statement was self-taught, but the gods had inspired him with all kinds of lays.<sup>4</sup> It was a god who urged bards on to sing.

Another common designation of the bard is ἐρίηρος,<sup>5</sup> "faithful" or "loyal." Aside from its application to bards it occurs elsewhere in Homer only in the phrase ἐρίηρος ἐταῖροι, "trustworthy companions." Both Phemius and Demodocus are referred to as περίκλυτος,<sup>6</sup> "renowned" which suggests a minstrel not without honor in his own country whose fame had also spread abroad, carried no doubt by his patron's guests who had been entertained during their stay by his recitations; or perhaps the bard himself had formerly been a wandering minstrel who finally settled down with a particularly kindly prince. That a bard might have a widespread reputation and might receive invitations to visit different courts is indicated by the swineherd's words to Antinous:

τίς γάρ δῃ ξείνονα καλεῖ ἄλλοθεν αὐτὸς ἐπελθὼν  
ἄλλον γ', εἰ μὴ τῶν οἱ δημιοεργοὶ ἔασι,  
μάντιν ἢ ἱητῆρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δούρων,  
ἢ καὶ θεσπιν Δοιδόν, ὃ κεν τέρπησιν ἀείδων;  
οὗτοι γάρ κλητοὶ γε βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαίαν.<sup>7</sup>

Once the bard is called θεσπης,<sup>8</sup> "inspired," an adjective which is also applied to his song.<sup>9</sup> On another occasion he is πολύφημος,<sup>10</sup> an epithet which suggests the wide range of his repertoire.

It is interesting to find Alcinous urging Odysseus to continue his narrative with a graceful compliment:

<sup>1</sup>xxii. 345-46.

<sup>3</sup>viii. 63 f.

<sup>5</sup>i. 346; viii. 62, 471.

<sup>7</sup>xvii. 382 ff.

<sup>9</sup>i. 328; viii. 498.

<sup>2</sup>viii. 44, 499; xvii. 518.

<sup>4</sup>xxii. 347.

<sup>6</sup>i. 325; viii. 83, 367, 521.

<sup>8</sup>xvii. 385.

<sup>10</sup>xxii. 376.



σοὶ δ' ἔπι μὲν μορφήν ἔπεων, ἔνι δὲ φρένες ἐσθαλαί,  
 μῦθον δ' ὡς ὅτ' ἀοιδὸς ἐπισταμένως κατέλεξας,  
 πάντων Ἀργείων σέο τ' αὐτοῦ κήδεα λυγρὰ.<sup>1</sup>

A prince could hardly be compared with a bard unless bards were held in high honor. Again Odysseus is likened to a bard by the swineherd Eumaeus. In telling Penelope of the stranger, still unknown, he said, "As when men behold a bard, who, taught by the gods, sings songs charming to mortals and they have a deep desire to hear him whenever he sings, so that man charmed my heart when he stood in the hall."<sup>2</sup> As he prepares to reveal himself Odysseus strings his bow as easily as a bard, skilled in the lyre and song, strings his instrument.<sup>3</sup>

The incident which offers perhaps the most conclusive proof of the position of honor and trust held by the bard was the action of Agamemnon before his departure for Troy, enjoining on his loyal court minstrel the care and protection of Clytemnestra. This bard must have been the most trusted member of his patron's retinue, and nobly he performed the trust. As long as the bard was present Clytemnestra remained faithful. His influence was such that she could not succumb to the wiles of Aegistheus. In order to achieve his seduction of the lady he was compelled to abduct the bard and leave him on a desert isle to be the prey of birds.<sup>4</sup> With the guardian disposed of the rest was easy. Only to one who was regarded as a close and trusted friend would one leave the protection of one's wife and home. Nothing could show more clearly the intimate relation that must have existed between the minstrel and his royal patron than this act on the part of Agamemnon. Strabo spoke of bards as σωφρονιστάς, "disciplinarians of morality," and cited this example of Clytemnestra's guardian.<sup>5</sup> It is possible that the bard to whom Clytemnestra was entrusted was a mere jailer, but the tone of the passage implies a greater trust. He was an honored friend made the protector of the queen.

After the company had satisfied their desire for food and drink then their thoughts turned to other things,

μολπήν τ' ὀρχηστὺς τε· τὰ γὰρ τ' ἀναθήματα δαΐδης.<sup>6</sup>

The bard took down his lyre to while away the evening by playing for the dance and by singing the "deeds of gods and men."<sup>7</sup> The themes of the minstrels were drawn for the most part from the events of the expedition against Troy. Phemius sang to the suitors a tale of the painful return allotted by Athena to the Achaeans

<sup>1</sup>xi. 367 ff.

<sup>3</sup>xxi. 406 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Strabo i. 2. 3.

<sup>7</sup>i. 338.

<sup>2</sup>xvii. 518 ff.

<sup>4</sup>iii. 265 ff.

<sup>6</sup>i. 152.

on their homeward journey. Penelope was so grieved by this lay that she requested Phemius to drop the mournful theme and sing one of the other tales of heroic deeds which composed his repertoire. But Telemachus defended the bard, reminding his mother that the singer was not to blame for what Zeus sent to mortals nor yet that men took the most pleasure in listening to songs that were new.<sup>1</sup> To keep the favor of his patrons the bard must keep expanding his store, seeking for new songs of adventure, that his listeners may not become bored by too much repetition. The bard's position, in spite of his somewhat sacred character, was not altogether secure. When he had found one generous prince he had to exert himself by finding new themes for song to keep the favor of that prince. If he ceased to interest his audience he would be likely to find that he had worn out his welcome and must wander on to seek a new patron. Demodocus, beloved of the Phaeacians, also drew his themes from the Trojan cycle. He related in song how the heart of Agamemnon was cheered when Achilles and Odysseus quarreled violently at a sacrificial feast, thereby fulfilling an oracle which foretold the beginning of the end when the noblest of the Achaeans should quarrel.<sup>2</sup> At the request of Odysseus who praised the way he sang of the deeds and woes of the Achaeans κατά λόγον, he recited the tale of the Wooden Horse.<sup>3</sup> In general the themes of the bards may be called historical.<sup>4</sup> Events and heroes with whom the audiences were acquainted were related in song. That all should be told in order due with all respect for accuracy was the highest praise that could be awarded a bard. Not all the songs of the bards were limited to heroic themes. Mythology as well as history was drawn upon. While the most skillful dancers of the Phaeacians executed their movements for the entertainment of Odysseus the bard struck up his lyre and sang of the love of Ares and Aphrodite and how they were tricked by Hephaestus.<sup>5</sup> The motions of the dancers must have been mimetic, so perhaps in such an occasion may be found the germ of later choral music, where, instead of a solo singer accompanying the dance, the song was sung by the chorus themselves as they performed their interpretative motions. A love song interpreted by the dance may be a forerunner of the choral love lyrics of Ibycus. Song and dance were often coupled in the Homeric age as they were in later Greece. Two scenes of song and dancing pictured on the

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<sup>1</sup>i. 325 ff.

<sup>2</sup>viii. 73 ff.

<sup>3</sup>viii. 487 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. W. J. Woodhouse, The Composition of Homer's Odyssey (Oxford, 1930), pp. 12 f. and 237 ff.

<sup>5</sup>viii. 266 ff.

shield of Achilles have been mentioned.<sup>1</sup> Dance accompanied by song is often the entertainment at feasts and other celebrations.<sup>2</sup>

The bard had some power to stir the emotions of his audience. Usually the company listened with pleasure to his ballads.<sup>3</sup> The skill of Phemius was such that the boisterous suitors sat in silence listening while he sang.<sup>4</sup> Phemius caused sorrow to Penelope by his tale of the return of the Achaeans<sup>5</sup> and Demodocus brought tears to the eyes of Odysseus by his songs of Troy.<sup>6</sup> In these cases the emotion was aroused by the memories and thoughts that the themes awakened, but that emotion was sharpened by the skill of the bard. Later rhapsodists, for example the Ion of Plato's dialogue of that name, were proud of their ability to arouse any emotion in their audiences, and in all probability their Homeric prototypes possessed the same power.

To summarize, the Homeric poems picture minstrels, some permanently attached to a royal patron who gave them protection and a livelihood in exchange for the entertainment that they provided at the royal festivities; and others, itinerant poets who made their living by wandering from noble establishment to another, lingering wherever they found a welcome. They may be regarded as the ancestors of poets such as Archilochus or Arion, who was reputed to have acquired some wealth in Italy and Sicily by the practice of his art; poets who traveled here and there earning their livelihood by reciting their poetry. The bard permanently attached to the establishment of a prince lived on intimate terms with his patron and was a trusted friend to whom could be confided important commissions. He entertained festal gatherings with his ballads and played the lyre and sang as an accompaniment to the dance. His themes were tales of war and adventure and sometimes love, such tales as form the background of Homer and which appealed to his aristocratic audience. The songs usually had a background of truth, perhaps were often concerned with the heroic deeds of the bard's patron. The highest praise was that events were told *κατὰ λόγον*, "in the proper order." The permanent bard held a position comparable to that of the court poet of later times. At the courts of Polycrates of Samos, the Pisistratidae of Athens, Hiero of Syracuse, and other tyrants were gathered groups of poets who were supported by their patrons and in return provided songs for festal occasions, entertained their patrons, and

<sup>1</sup>Supra, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>*Od.* i. 152, 421; viii. 248, 253; xvii. 605; xviii. 304; xxi. 145.

<sup>3</sup>viii. 368.

<sup>4</sup>i. 325.

<sup>5</sup>i. 326 ff.

<sup>6</sup>viii. 83 ff., 521 f.

often sang their praises. Such relationships suggest a continuation of a situation similar to the relationship of the Homeric bard to his patron.<sup>1</sup>

The early bard probably composed his own lays, or at least improvised on a common theme as he went along. Later the Homeric poems were spread by rhapsodists who sang those songs and ceased to improvise their own. The recitation of the Homeric poems came to be an established profession, with rhapsodical contests as a part of many festivals, such as the Panathenaea, which included musical competitions on their programs. The patron of the rhapsode was no longer an individual prince, but had become the State, or more accurately the state religion, since the agones at which rhapsodes competed were always part of a religious festival.

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<sup>1</sup>There is an interesting parallel between the Homeric bard and the bards mentioned in early Germanic and Anglo-Saxon literature. In Deor's Lament a bard who has held an enviable position as a court poet bewails his loss of favor and hopes to be able to recoup his fortunes by regaining his position or finding some other source of patronage. Widsith provides a picture of an itinerant poet who has entertained many great princes with his singing. The closing verses of that poem might be a description of a Homeric bard:

"So, faring aye, are fated to wander  
men of song through many lands,  
to say their need and to speak their thanks.  
Or south or north, some one is found,  
wise of word and willing of hoard,  
to lift his praise in his liegeman's presence,  
to honor his earlship,--till all is fled,  
light and life together: he gets him laud,  
holds under heaven a haughty name" (tr. Gummere).

Another parallel is found in Priscus' account of a visit to Attila in 448 A.D. After a banquet two bards sang in praise of the achievements and virtues of their master, while the audience was deeply stirred (Müller, F. H. G., IV, 92). For an account of the Germanic bard cf. H. M. Chadwick, The Heroic Age (Cambridge, 1912), chap. v.



## CHAPTER II THE TYRANTS

### Periander

About the middle of the seventh century Cypselus made himself tyrant of Corinth by the overthrow of the Bacchiad oligarchy. In 625 he was succeeded by his son, Periander, who reigned for more than forty years.<sup>1</sup> These two men did much for the material prosperity of Corinth, for under their rule the city enjoyed a period of colonial expansion and great commercial importance. Meanwhile the arts were not neglected for the city was beautified with rich temples, and its fame was spread abroad by the erection of the Corinthian treasury at Delphi,<sup>2</sup> and the dedication of a golden colossus of Zeus at Olympia.<sup>3</sup> Probably the best architects and sculptors of the age were sought out by the Cypselids for these undertakings.

The Corinthian court became a gathering place for literary artists among whom was named the poet Chersias, said to have been a resident at the court during the reign of Cypselus and to have been present with him at Delphi when the Corinthian treasury was dedicated.<sup>4</sup> Although there is no available evidence probably it is not too much to assume that in his capacity as court poet he composed a poem in epic style commemorative of the occasion. At some time he had a disagreement with Cypselus' successor, Periander, but later was reconciled and resumed his position in the royal household.<sup>5</sup> Almost nothing is known of Chersias. An epic poet of Orchomenus of that name, probably to be identified with the friend of the Cypselids, is mentioned by Pausanias, who said that in his time nothing remained of his work with the exception of two hexameters quoted by Callippus and an epigram on the grave of Hesiod ascribed by the Orchomenians to him.<sup>6</sup> The Scythian

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<sup>1</sup>O'Neill, Ancient Corinth (Baltimore, 1930), chap. v, provides a good account of the tyranny of the Cypselids. Cf. Porzio, I Cipselidi (Bologna, 1912).

<sup>2</sup>Plut. Moralia 164a.

<sup>3</sup>Paus. v. 2. 3. Strabo viii. 3. 30.

<sup>4</sup>Plut. Mor. 164b.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 156e.

<sup>6</sup>ix. 38. 9.

philosopher Anacharsis is also mentioned in connection with the Corinthian court.<sup>1</sup>

Of the men of letters gathered in Cypselid Corinth the most prominent was Arion, a citharodist second to none of his contemporaries, καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.<sup>2</sup> He was a Lesbian of Methymna of whom Suidas says, λέγεται καὶ τραγικοῦ τρόπου εὐρετῆς γενέσθαι, καὶ πρῶτος χορὸν στήσαι, καὶ διθύραμβον ᾄσαι, καὶ ὀνομάσαι τὸ ἀδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ, καὶ Σατύρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας.<sup>3</sup> According to the romantic tale told by Herodotus, Arion, after having spent some time with Periander, urged by a desire to see the world, went to Sicily and Italy where he accumulated some wealth. During his return journey to Corinth he was forced to jump overboard by the ship's crew, who hoped to secure his property; and was rescued by a dolphin which had been charmed by the song he sang as he leaped into the waves.<sup>4</sup> The reality of Arion has been questioned, largely because of the mythical story of his rescue by the dolphin, but according to Pickard-Cambridge there is no sufficient reason for doubting his existence.<sup>5</sup> The legend may have arisen from a misinterpretation of the statue at Taenarum, which perhaps represented some sea god riding on a dolphin, or possibly was an actual dedication by the poet himself, later explained by this legend.<sup>6</sup> If the purely mythical element in the story is disregarded there still remains the possibility of a visit to Magna Graecia, during which Arion acquired some money by the practice of his art, as had the itinerant bards of the Homeric period. That a wandering poet could live by his art testifies to the fact that the poetic profession might be remunerative even if the poet was not attached to some

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<sup>1</sup>Plut. Mor. 148c.

<sup>2</sup>Herod. 1. 23.

<sup>3</sup>Arion.

<sup>4</sup>Herod. 1. 24. Plut. Mor. 161 tells the story in great detail with a background of starry sky, full moon, and waveless sea. See also Aelian N. A. xii. 45; Dio Chrys. xxxvii. 1 f.; Strabo xiii. 2. 4; Gellius xvi. 19. Lucian Dial. Mar. 8 gives a variant of the story. Arion was sailing home to Methymna with the wealth which he had acquired at the court of Periander when he was forced to jump overboard and was carried by the dolphin to Taenarum. Paus. (iii. 25. 7) reported having seen a statuette of Arion and the dolphin at Taenarum.

<sup>5</sup>Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy (Oxford, 1927), p. 132. Cf. Schmid-Stählin, Gr. Lit. Ges., I, Band I, 406 ff.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. How and Wells, A Commentary on Herodotus (Oxford, 1912), 1. 24. 6.

aristocratic patron who would furnish him with the necessities of life while providing an audience for his poetry. There are a few other known examples of poets who seem to have led roving lives. Xenophanes probably lived in this fashion.<sup>1</sup> Theognis tells of a journey which took him to Sicily, Sparta, and Euboea and brought him honors everywhere, no doubt because of his poetry.<sup>2</sup> Some poets went from one royal court to another, moving perhaps because of loss of favor or seeing greener pastures elsewhere; but the poets just mentioned apparently won their honors from the public rather than from royal patrons.

There has been much discussion as to the nature of Arion's literary innovations. He can be called the "inventor" of the dithyramb only in the sense that he gave the rude, extemporaneous song in honor of Dionysus a literary form. Since the name "dithyramb" was known in the time of Archilochus<sup>3</sup> he can not be said to have named it in the sense of having been the first to call that particular form of song "dithyramb," but rather he was the first to write literary dithyrambs, each with its individual title.<sup>4</sup> As to the statement of Suidas quoted above, according to Pickard-Cambridge the τραγικὸς τρόπος and the satyr dances can not apply to Arion's development of the dithyramb, but must mean that besides his elevation of that form of song he invented the musical mode afterwards adopted by tragedy, perhaps to be used for such tragic choruses as were performed at Sicyon in honor of Adrastus; and that he changed the satyr dances, probably already in existence, by making the satyrs speak verses.<sup>5</sup> All of these productions of Arion were no doubt intended for religious festivals, particularly the Corinthian festival of Dionysus, which was made more splendid by Periander. A regard for religion, especially for the cults of the common people such as was the cult of Dionysus, was a politic move on the part of the tyrant who wished to establish himself firmly in the popular favor. In lending a helping hand to literary efforts the tyrants were often considering that the compositions of good poets would add to the interest of the festivals and so presumably would strengthen the enthusiasm of the people for the ruler who sponsored such occasions. In Corinth, as elsewhere in Greece, the people must have had a real interest in literature.

Poets also were given encouragement because they could sing the praises of their patrons and keep their fame alive. In

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. infra, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup>Theog. 783 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Archilochus fr. 77 D.

<sup>4</sup>Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>5</sup>p. 133.

some cases the patron probably felt a genuine interest in literature. Such perhaps was the case of Periander who not only seems to have gathered at his court a group of literary men, including Arion, but was also named by some as one of the seven wise men and was, according to tradition, somewhat of a poet himself. He is referred to as an elegiac poet<sup>1</sup> and is reputed to have written a didactic poem of two thousand verses, ὑποθήκας εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον.<sup>2</sup>

### Cleisthenes

Occasionally tyrants pursued a policy of discouragement rather than encouragement of the literary arts. Such activity was perhaps sometimes a temporary expedient due to political motives, or was directed at particular types of literary activity. Such seems to have been the case of Cleisthenes,<sup>3</sup> tyrant of Sicyon during the early part of the sixth century, who, when he was at war with Argos, forbade the contests of rhapsodes:

ῥαψωδοὺς ἔπαυσε ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν Ὀμηρείων ἐπέων εἶνεκα, ὅτι Ἀργεῖοί τε καὶ Ἀργὸς τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ὑμνέεται.<sup>4</sup>

There is much dispute as to what "Homeric poems" was meant to include.<sup>5</sup> Was it the Iliad and Odyssey which are full of references to the Argives and the Argive heroes? Or was there special reference to the cyclic epics dealing with the expedition against Thebes, especially the Thebais of which the first line has been preserved?

"Ἀργὸς θεῖδε, θεά, πολυδίψιον, ἔνθεν ἀνακτες.<sup>6</sup>

In view of the attempt to root out the cult of the Argive hero, Adrastus, in Sicyon it seems most likely that the measure was directed in particular at the Thebais but probably also included the other poems known under the name of Homer.

In the attempt to dispossess Adrastus Cleisthenes introduced the Theban hero Melanippus. In his honor were held the

<sup>1</sup>Ath. xiv. 632d.

<sup>2</sup>Diog. Laert. i. 97; Suidas, Periander.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Cambridge Ancient History (Cambridge, 1923----), III, 554 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Herod. v. 67. 1.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. U. v. Wilamowitz, Homerische Untersuchungen (Berlin, 1884), p. 352; J. A. Scott, "Homer as the Poet of the Thebais," Classical Philology, XVI (1921), 20 ff.; Fitch, "The Evidence for the Homeric Thebais," CP, XVII (1922), 37 ff.

<sup>6</sup>Contest of Homer and Hesiod, l. 261.



sacrifices and other rites with which Adrastus had been worshipped, but the choral performances (τραγικοί χοροί) which had honored Adrastus by representing his experiences (τὰ πάθη) Cleisthenes assigned (ἀπέδωκε) to Dionysus.<sup>1</sup> There is no need to insist that Herodotus must have meant that Cleisthenes "gave back" to Dionysus rites which had previously belonged to him for ἀποδίδωμι may mean merely "to assign what is one's due." If Herodotus did mean "give back," having his eye on communities where cyclic choruses did belong originally to Dionysus, he was mistaken in the case of Sicyon where they had originally belonged to Adrastus.<sup>2</sup> This action was inspired by political considerations, for Cleisthenes hoped to gain the favor of the common people by the encouragement of the cult of Dionysus as against the aristocratic and Dorian cult of Adrastus. While the suppression of the rhapsodists was also occasioned entirely by political considerations and need not be regarded as indicating a positive aversion to literature on the part of Cleisthenes, still it suggests that he probably took little or no active interest in it. If, however, it had suited his political purposes to act as a literary sponsor he might well have been found in that role.

### Polycrates

About 533 Polycrates, the son of Aeaces, seized the supreme power in the island of Samos and embarked on the somewhat brief, but decidedly romantic, career which soon made him master of the Aegean. While his ships ruled the waves he did not forget other matters. His city was adorned and strengthened. The gods were remembered by the dedication of the island of Rheneia to the Delian Apollo,<sup>3</sup> and probably by the completion of the temple of Hera at Samos. That his most prized possession was a ring engraved by the gem-cutter Theodorus testifies to his interest in the arts.<sup>4</sup>

The Samian court during the reign of Polycrates became a gathering place for men of letters. Pythagoras is said by Aristoxenus to have left his native island when the tyranny of Polycrates blossomed, because he thought it was no place for a free

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<sup>1</sup>Herod. v. 67.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. How and Wells, Commentary on Herodotus, v. 67. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Thuc. iii. 104. 2.

<sup>4</sup>Herod. iii. 41. For Polycrates' career cf. Cambridge Ancient History, IV, 90 ff.

man;<sup>1</sup> but there were other men, not so particular, who were quite willing to bask in the sunshine of the tyrant's favor. Among the members of the court was Democedes, the most skilled medical man of his time, later court physician to Darius I,<sup>2</sup> who received two talents in gold as a stipend from Polycrates.<sup>3</sup>

Among the literary members of the brilliant court circle was Anacreon. He was a native of the Ionian city of Teos. In 545 when Harpagus was ravaging the Ionian coast he seems to have gone with his fellow townsmen to Thrace where they founded the colony of Abdera. Struggles with the wild Thracian neighbors were inevitable and in one such encounter Anacreon apparently followed a common fashion among poets and abandoned his shield.<sup>4</sup> Frontier life could hardly have appealed to a person of Anacreon's tastes and no doubt he gladly welcomed the invitation which gave him an opportunity to exchange the precarious life of a pioneer settlement for the luxury of the Samian court. According to the story told by Himerius, a flowery speech-maker of the fourth century A.D., he was summoned as the tutor of the youthful Polycrates of Rhodes, son of the tyrant, who, because of his love of music and song, requested his father to procure him such an instructor.<sup>5</sup> Although Anacreon's residence at the court of Polycrates is attested by many writers from Herodotus on, no one else suggests the somewhat surprising role of tutor for him. According to Wilamowitz the idea is positively comic and must be a creation of Himerius' own, since he often indulged in inventions too stupid for anybody else.<sup>6</sup> Bowra, however, regards this as an important fact and finds no reason for doubting it. Nothing else is known of the tyrant's son, but probably Himerius read of him in the poems of Anacreon. That the son is called "Polycrates of Rhodes" may indicate that the island of Rhodes came under the tyrant's sway and that he made his son its governor.<sup>7</sup>

Herodotus' account of the envoy from Oroetes finding Polycrates in his private apartments in the company of Anacreon implies that the poet was on terms of considerable intimacy with his royal patron.<sup>8</sup> An anecdote, found twice in Stobaeus, first under the heading 'Ανακρέωντος,<sup>9</sup> and again titled ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστο-

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<sup>1</sup>F. H. G., II, 272.

<sup>2</sup>Herod. iii. 132.

<sup>3</sup>Herod. iii. 131; cf. Suidas, Ἀνακρέων; Ath. xii. 522b.

<sup>4</sup>Anacreon fr. 51 D.

<sup>5</sup>Or. xxx, ed. Dübner. Cf. Schenkl, "Neue Bruchstücke des Himerios," Hermes, XLVI (1911), 422, #47.

<sup>6</sup>Sappho und Simonides (Berlin, 1913), pp. 111 f.

<sup>7</sup>Greek Lyric Poets, pp. 260 f. and 287.

<sup>8</sup>iii. 121.

<sup>9</sup>Florilegium xciii. 25.

τέλους χρεῖων,<sup>1</sup> reports that the poet, having received a gift of money from his patron, returned it after some deliberation with the comment that he did not care to have anything that would cause him worry and sleeplessness. The suspicion can hardly be avoided that such high-mindedness was not the possession of the poet himself but was bestowed on him by some later benefactor.

According to Strabo the poetry of Anacreon was full of references to Polycrates.<sup>2</sup> This would seem to indicate that Anacreon must have written verses dealing with Polycrates and his exploits, but unfortunately the remains of his work are too fragmentary to throw much light on how it was done and no lines that contain indisputable references to Polycrates have been preserved. It is not surprising that the verses of the poet laureate of a tyrant have very little political reference. His fragments in general may be classed as love poetry or drinking songs, which no doubt Polycrates commissioned him to write as entertainment for banquets and other court festivities. A remark of Himerius that Anacreon sang of the good fortune (τύχη) of Polycrates<sup>3</sup> indicates one way in which the poet honored his patron in song. Other references show that the poet further won favor by praise of the tyrant's boy favorites.<sup>4</sup>

Himerius is the source of another bit of information of somewhat dubious import:

"Ἐχαιρε μὲν Ἀνακρέων εἰς Πολυκράτους στελλόμενος  
τὸν μέγαν θάνατον προσθέγγεσθαι.<sup>5</sup>

What Himerius apparently had in mind, to judge from the context, was a poem composed by Anacreon while at the court of Polycrates, which opened with a few verses in honor of Xanthippus, father of Pericles. If such was the circumstance one must conclude either that Anacreon was singing of someone of whom he knew only by hearsay, a rather unlikely supposition, or that previously to his invitation to Samos he had enjoyed the friendship of Xanthippus at Athens, a conjecture which is suspicious chronologically and has no evidence to support it. Another fairly plausible view of the situation is advanced by L. Weber, who maintains that it could not possibly indicate a previous visit to Athens and suggests a poem in honor of Polycrates written at Athens after his death.<sup>6</sup>

Only one fragment of Anacreon unquestionably refers to

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., xciii. 38.

<sup>2</sup>xiv. 1. 16.

<sup>3</sup>Schenkl, op. cit., p. 420, #39.

<sup>4</sup>Aelian V. H. ix. 4; Max. Tyr. xxxvii, p. 432, ll. 17 ff., ed. Hobein.

<sup>5</sup>Or. v. 3, ed. Dübner.

<sup>6</sup>Anacreontea, p. 3; cf. Bowra, op. cit., pp. 306 f.

the political situation in Samos:

μυθίζεται δ' ἀνὰ νῆσον, <ᾧ> Μεγίστη,

διέπουσιν ἱρὸν ἄστυ.<sup>1</sup>

The rebels referred to are no doubt rightly considered by Bergk to be those men, undesirable from Polycrates' point of view, whom he sent to assist the Persians in an expedition against Egypt but who had instead returned and engaged in battle with the tyrant.<sup>2</sup> The poem perhaps went on to tell of the successful suppression of the uprising.

The Megistes addressed in this poem and in fragments 21 and 65 is generally supposed to be one of the boy favorites of the Samian court. However the thought suggests itself that it might perhaps be a pseudonym for Polycrates, since the name is obviously connected with μέγας and the "Great One" would be a suitable and not too obscure a designation for a tyrant, and that these might be verses addressed directly to his patron by the poet. The tone of the Megistes fragments is somewhat different, less familiar perhaps, than those addressed to other favorites, a fact which supports the hypothesis that Megistes is Polycrates.

There is another line of Anacreon which demands a few words:

οὐδ' ἀργυρὴ κ' ὥ τ' ὅτ' ἔλαμπε Πειθώ.<sup>3</sup>

This line is quoted by the Pindaric scholiast as referring to the Muse,<sup>4</sup> i.e., in the good old days poets did not have to be paid for their poetry. Bergk believed that the line was written at Athens and was aimed at Simonides, one of the rivals of Anacreon at the court of the Pisistratidae. Simonides became a by-word for avarice in antiquity and so provides commentators with a convenient peg on which to hang all such sentiments. Welcker, in a review of Bergk's edition of Anacreon, offered a much more sensible interpretation.<sup>5</sup> Peitho was the daughter of Aphrodite and the poet's wail was occasioned by love's having become a thing which must be bought, although once upon a time Persuasion could win favor without the aid of a well-lined purse. Simonides may be relieved of this one dart at least.

Another poet who resided at the Samian court was Ibycus. According to Suidas he came from Rhegium to Samos ὅτε αὐτῆς ἤρχεν ὁ Πολυκράτης, ὁ τοῦ τυράννου πατήρ.<sup>6</sup> Obviously there is something

<sup>1</sup>Fr. 25 D.

<sup>2</sup>Bergk, Anacreontis Carminum Reliquias (Leipzig, 1834), p. 170. Cf. Herod. iii. 44, 45.

<sup>3</sup>Fr. 59 D.

<sup>4</sup>Is. ii. 13.

<sup>5</sup>Rheinisches Museum, III (1835), 159 f.

<sup>6</sup>Ibycus.



wrong with the statement, since the name of Polycrates' father is elsewhere attested as Aeaces,<sup>1</sup> and since Polycrates was the first of the family to hold a position of power in Samos. Either there is a mistake in the text--several not altogether satisfactory attempts at emendation have been made--or Suidas or his source was in error, a possibility not without precedent. It is possible that Ibycus may have been in Samos and have attracted the attention of Polycrates before he became tyrant.

There was a proverb, 'Ἀρχαιότερος Ἰβύκου, for which the ancient explanation was that, having been offered the tyranny in his native city, Ibycus had refused it.<sup>2</sup> Such an event is remotely possible, but the explanations of the paroemiographers are often obviously invented and need not be taken seriously.

The poetry of Ibycus appears to have been largely choral and falls into two somewhat distinct classes, probably corresponding roughly to two different periods in his life.<sup>3</sup> The early part of his life was spent in the west, in his native Rhegium and in travels in Sicily where he may have met Stesichorus. Perhaps this period of his life represents another example of a poet living on public rather than private patronage.<sup>4</sup> Whether or not he may have met Stesichorus he was thoroughly familiar with his work and was deeply influenced by him, especially in the work he produced before he went to Samos. This period was characterized by choral hymns in the epic manner, similar to those of Stesichorus, in which the mythical element was the whole content. With the poet's residence at the Samian court may be said to begin a more subjective period to which belong the love lyrics which still retain a large mythical element but with a personal application, most of them in praise of the court favorites. Such poetry was what was particularly desired at the Samian court and was similar in content to what Anacreon wrote there. Ibycus may have written similar poetry occasionally before he went to Samos but the atmosphere of the court and the preferences of his patron would definitely tend to encourage that aspect of his verse to the exclusion of the impersonal, mythical hymns.

A papyrus among the finds at Oxyrhynchus has provided an interesting addition to our knowledge of Ibycus and a good illus-

<sup>1</sup>Herod. iii. 39.

<sup>2</sup>Diogenian ii. 71; Cod. Bodliano, 203. Cf. F. W. Schneidewin, Ibyci Rhegini Carminum Reliquiae (Göttingen, 1833), p. 15, n. 6. Schmid-Stählin, op. cit., I, Band I, 489 and Bowra, Gr. Lyric Poetry, p. 255, consider such an event not improbable.

<sup>3</sup>Smyth, Greek Melic Poets, p. 270.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. supra, pp. 14 f.

tration of the combination of mythical and personal themes which characterized his Samian poetry.<sup>1</sup> Although no author's name appeared in the fragment the mention of Polycrates and the strophical arrangement and linguistic peculiarities which could not belong to Anacreon leave no doubt that the poem is correctly assigned to Ibycus. After announcing that he will not sing of Troy, a theme to which only the Muses could do justice, and then enumerating at some length the heroes who were there, the poet closes:

τοῖς μὲν πέδα κάλλεος αἰέν·  
καὶ σύ, Πολύκρατες, κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔξεις,  
ὥς κατ' <ἄ>οιδάν  
καὶ ἔμδον κλέος.

Ibycus' songs will make the fame of Polycrates, as well as his own, immortal.

One line of Ibycus:

οὐδέ Κυάρας ὁ Μηδείων στραταγός,<sup>2</sup>

is completed by Schneidewin, "hanc fortunatam insulam cepit," and is supposed by him to belong to a poem in praise of the island of Samos.<sup>3</sup>

The stories about Polycrates indicate that his was a court of some splendor, enhanced by curiosities from all parts of the world. Tradition assigned to him the collection of a library<sup>4</sup> but he could not have had an extensive collection and it may be questioned whether this is anything more than a tale arising out of the fact that he was known as a patron of literature and the fact that large libraries were collected at such places as Alexandria and Pergamum by later kings. At Polycrates' court Anacreon and Ibycus lived in luxury, writing poems which, while not great art, are charming and pleased the fancy of their patron.

#### The Pisistratidae

For nearly fifty years between 560 and 510, except for two periods of exile, Pisistratus and his sons ruled Athens, tyrannically perhaps, but with an enlightened policy which started the city on the path to greatness.<sup>5</sup> Attention was given to the beautification of the city. During the period several temples

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<sup>1</sup>Fr. 3 D; Ox. Pap., XV, #1790.

<sup>2</sup>Fr. 18 D. <sup>3</sup>O<sup>3</sup>p. cit., p. 194.

<sup>4</sup>Ath. 1. 3a.

<sup>5</sup>Camb. Anc. Hist., IV, chap. 111; G. Busolt, Griechische Geschichte (Gotha, 1885), I, 546 ff.; P. N. Ure, Origin of Tyranny (Cambridge, 1922), chap. 11.

were built, including the peristyle of the Hecatompedon and the beginning of the Olympieum, the great temple of Zeus which was not finished until centuries later at the command of the emperor Hadrian.

Hitherto Athens had produced no literary artists, with the exception of Solon and Tyrtaeus, if Tyrtaeus was actually an Athenian, and had displayed little interest in literary affairs. But the Pisistratidae were enthusiastic patrons of literature. At their invitation there was gathered at Athens a group of the outstanding writers of the day who spread the fame of the ruling family and helped the violet-crowned city to assume the position as intellectual leader of Hellas which was hers from that time on. Both Pisistratus and his son Hipparchus seem to have been interested in literature, but during the time of Hipparchus still more than under his father Athens became a center of literary activity. Hipparchus was described by Aristotle as φιλόμουσος, and the patron of Simonides, Anacreon, and other poets.<sup>1</sup> He had perhaps the greatest interest in literature of any of the Pisistratidae.

The family seems to have had a considerable interest in Orphism, an interest which is shown partly by their encouragement of the Eleusinian mysteries, whose ritual was perhaps somewhat modified at this time. Also architectural improvements were made at the sanctuary at Eleusis, including the building of a temple much more splendid than the preceding edifice.<sup>2</sup> This Orphic tendency is further indicated by the presence at the Athenian court of several proponents of that doctrine. Orpheus of Croton, an epic poet said to have written an Argonautica and an astrological work setting forth Orphic doctrines entitled Δεκαετηρίδα, was one of those to whom Pisistratus lent his favor.<sup>3</sup> Onomacritus, an Athenian, was also an Orphic. Various works attributed to Orpheus probably were actually the work of Onomacritus.<sup>4</sup> At Athens he was engaged in collecting the oracles of Musaeus on the commission of the Pisistratidae. But he had the misfortune to allow Lasus to catch him in the act of forging an oracle and so was banished at the command of Hipparchus. Later, however, after the expulsion of the Pisistratidae from Athens, he regained the support of the family and was taken by them to Persia, in the hope that he might produce oracles, whether those of Musaeus or those of his own invention is not specified, which would persuade the Great King to

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<sup>1</sup>Aristot. Const. of Ath. xviii. 1.

<sup>2</sup>F. Noack, Eleusis--Die Baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des Heiligtumes (Berlin, 1927), pp. 48 ff., esp. pp. 69 f.

<sup>3</sup>Suidas, Ὀρφεὺς Κροτωνιάτης.

<sup>4</sup>Clem. Alex. Stromatum i. 21. 131.

undertake an expedition against Greece with a view to restoring the Pisistratidae to Athens.<sup>1</sup>

Lasus of Hermione has just been mentioned as having revealed Onomacritus as a fabricator. He was a writer of dithyrambs, said by Suidas to have been the first to institute cyclic choruses.<sup>2</sup> Arion had produced dithyrambs a century before at Corinth but Lasus may have been the first to produce them at Athens. According to the Parian Chronicle it was in 508, after the expulsion of the tyrants, that the first contest of men's choruses was held in Athens, with Hypodicus of Chalcis as the victor.<sup>3</sup> It has been suggested, in order to reconcile these two statements, that after the end of the tyranny Lasus did not remain in Athens but moved to Euboea and from there sent Hypodicus to compete with a poem of his composition.<sup>4</sup> But it is more probable that the Parian marble was recording not the first performance of choruses in Athens, but the first contest held under the democracy. It is more than likely that Lasus and Simonides, who are known to have been rivals at some time or other,<sup>5</sup> were composing dithyrambs for the festivals sponsored by the Pisistratidae. Probably the interest of the tyrants in Lasus was due to his fame as a writer of dithyrambs, but he is also mentioned as having written a theoretical work on music,<sup>6</sup> and as having made experiments in poetry, such as the Hymn to Demeter, composed without a sigma, which was written for his fellow townsmen of Hermione.<sup>7</sup>

The early life of Simonides was spent in Ceos, his native island. His first experiences with poetry were in directing choruses for the festival of Apollo at Carthaea.<sup>8</sup> The fame of his songs for Ceian festivals and Ceian athletes soon spread and he received commissions for odes from Glaucus of Carystus,<sup>9</sup> Eualcidas of Eretria,<sup>10</sup> and perhaps other Euboeians. His growing reputation led to his invitation to Athens by Hipparchus,<sup>11</sup> that he might compose choral lyrics for the festivals sponsored by the tyrants.

<sup>1</sup>Herod. vii. 6. Onomacritus was one of those named in later times as assisting with the Pisistratean recension of Homer, as was also Orpheus of Croton. Cf. Prol. de Com. viii (Bergk, Aristophanis Comoedias [2nd ed.; Leipzig, 1884], p. xxxviii). Onomacritus was also accused of interpolation in Homer, schol. Od. xi. 604.

<sup>2</sup>Κυκλιοδιδάσκαλος.

<sup>3</sup>Ep. 46.

<sup>4</sup>Schmid-Stählin, Gr. Lit. Ges. I, Band I, 544, n. 5.

<sup>5</sup>Ar. Wasps 1410 f.

<sup>6</sup>Suidas, Lasus.

<sup>7</sup>Ath. x. 455c.

<sup>8</sup>Ath. x. 456f.

<sup>9</sup>Fr. 23 D.

<sup>10</sup>Herod. v. 102. 3.

<sup>11</sup>Ps.-Plato Hipparchus 228c; Ael. V. H. viii. 2.



It is said that Hipparchus kept Simonides at his court, "persuading him with a large salary and gifts."<sup>1</sup> Simonides was constantly cited in antiquity as avaricious and miserly. Aristophanes ridiculed him for his zeal for money<sup>2</sup> and the scholiast on the passage asserted that Simonides was the first to write poems for pay. This statement, if true, is true only in the sense that Simonides may have been the first to write on commission with a definite agreement on price before the work was undertaken. Poets before his day had gained their livelihood by the practice of their art. Those attached to royal courts were housed and fed and received gifts now and then as rewards for special excellence. Itinerant poets also seem to have been able to reap some reward for their literary efforts.

At the court of the Pisistratidae Simonides may have written various forms of lyric but probably his attention was devoted principally to the production of dithyrambs. During the course of his life he won fifty-six dithyrambic victories<sup>3</sup> and no doubt a good many of them belong to this period, when he and Lasus were providing choral songs to be sung at the religious festivals which the Pisistratidae wished to make as interesting as possible. After the expulsion of the tyrants Simonides spent some time in Thessaly, but it is interesting to find him again in Athens about the time of the Persian wars declaring:

ἦ μέγ' Ἀθηναίοισι φόως γένεθ', ἡνίκ' Ἀριστο-  
γείτων Ἱππάρχον κτείνε καὶ Ἀρμόδιος.<sup>4</sup>

If Simonides thus praised the slayers of his one time patron to win the favor of a new patron, the Athenian democracy, does it not indicate that there was perhaps some truth to the charge of avarice and that Simonides was willing to go whichever way the wind blew as long as it was profitable?

The fame of Anacreon had spread from Samos to Attica, and after the death of Polycrates, Hipparchus sent a fifty-oared vessel to bring the poet to Athens.<sup>5</sup> Probably he provided for the Athenian court, as he had for the one at Samos, gay and sophisticated lyrics to while away the hours at the banquet table, when no serious thought was desired. For other occasions, to compose encomia of the ruling family, to write choral lyrics for the religious festivals, there were other poets at hand, Simonides and Lasus and poets of the new art of tragedy who were producing plays at the recently established City Dionysia.

<sup>1</sup>Ps.-Plato, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup>Peace 697 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Simon. fr. 79 D.

<sup>4</sup>Fr. 76 D.

<sup>5</sup>Ps.-Plato, loc. cit. Cf. Aelian V. H. viii. 2; Aristot. Const. of Ath. 18. 1.

Pisistratus rose to power with the help of the common people and after he was firmly established he endeavored to keep their favor.<sup>1</sup> He followed the policy favored by other tyrants of being an active supporter of religion, in particular of the cult of Dionysus, which was essentially a cult of the common people. The reason for this support of religion was of course political. The ordinary people were as a rule deeply religious and would look with favor on the ruler who respected their beliefs and made their festivals more colorful. Before the time of Pisistratus there had been festivals of Dionysus in Athens characterized by some rude form of choral song and mimetic performance. But about 534 Pisistratus founded or reorganized the most splendid of the Dionysiac festivals,<sup>2</sup> the Great, or City, Dionysia of which an important element was the tragic contest. At the first Dionysia Thespis won the prize, which was a goat.<sup>3</sup> This of course was not the first appearance either of Thespis or of a performance which might be called tragedy, but it was a very important event, marking the first official recognition or influential patronage accorded to the new art. No doubt the embryonic tragedy had already met with an enthusiastic response from its audiences, so that encouragement of it was an obvious means to increase the magnificence of the festival and its appeal to those whose support the tyrant particularly desired. Although policy dictated this move, which was extremely important in giving an impetus to a new type of poetry, and perhaps in fixing a precedent for state encouragement of the drama, Pisistratus also had a real interest in literature. Besides the drama the dithyrambs of Simonides and Lasus were a part of the program of the Dionysia.

Attention was also given to the cult of the city's protectress with the result that the Panathenaea was made more splendid. Probably through the efforts of the Pisistratidae the Greater Panathenaea, or celebration of increased magnificence every fourth year, was instituted.<sup>4</sup> At the Panathenaea there were recitations of the Homeric poems and perhaps other forms of literary and musical competition including the performances of cyclic choruses.

In this connection some mention must be made of the much disputed question of the Pisistratean recension of Homer. According to one tradition Hipparchus first brought the Homeric poems to Athens and provided that they should be recited at the Panathe-

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<sup>1</sup>Cambridge Ancient History, IV, 62.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 67; Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>3</sup>Marmor Parium, Ep. 43.

<sup>4</sup>A. Mommsen, Feste der Stadt Athen in Altertum (Leipzig, 1898), pp. 61 ff.

naea ἐξ ὑπολήψεως, "in order," that is each rhapsodist taking up the recitation where the last had ceased.<sup>1</sup> But according to another version it was Solon who ordained that the Homeric poems should be recited "ἐξ ὑποβολῆς, so that where the first left off, there the second began," and who did more for the Homeric poems than Pisistratus did.<sup>2</sup> This would indicate that it was supposed that Homer was known in Athens long before the time of the Pisistratidae and this certainly must have been the case. The earliest extant suggestion of a Pisistratean edition of Homer is found in Cicero, who stated that Pisistratus was said to have been the first to arrange the formerly confused books of Homer.<sup>3</sup> According to Pausanias the editing was done by Pisistratus or some one of his associates.<sup>4</sup> Later the editors became three or four and finally the story appears in an obviously fabricated version of a commission of seventy-two, among whom were named the Alexandrian scholars Aristarchus and Zenodotus! This commission was appointed by Pisistratus to prepare an authoritative text of Homer. A call was sent out for all the scattered bits which could be collected and a reward was paid for each new line brought in.<sup>5</sup> It is unnecessary to enter into a discussion of the supposed origin of the tradition here. There must have been in existence before the time of Pisistratus a standard written text of Homer. Today most scholars are agreed that there is no justification for the attribution to Pisistratus of any kind of an edition of Homer.<sup>6</sup> Pisistratus' activity with regard to the Homeric poems must have been limited to the encouragement of the rhapsodists who recited the epics at the Panathenaea and to rules made by him or Hipparchus for their conduct.

To Pisistratus, as to Polycrates, was attributed the collection of a library, which in the case of Pisistratus was open to the public.<sup>7</sup> This library, according to Gellius, was further increased by the Athenians, was carried off by Xerxes when he burned the city, and was later restored by Seleucus. If Pisis-

<sup>1</sup>Ps.-Plato Hipparchus 228b.

<sup>2</sup>Dlog. Laert. i. 57.

<sup>3</sup>De Oratore iii. 34.

<sup>4</sup>vii. 26. 13.

<sup>5</sup>Proleg. de Comedia (Bergk, Aristophanis Comoedias, p. xxxviii); Bekker, Anecdota Graeca, II, 768.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. H. Flach, Peisistratos und seine litterarische Thätigkeit (Tübingen, 1885); T. W. Allen, Homer, Origins and Transmissions (Oxford, 1924), chap. x; Schmid-Stählin, Gr. Lit. Ges., I, Band I, 159 ff.; J. A. Scott, Unity of Homer (Berkeley, 1921), pp. 62 ff.

<sup>7</sup>Gellius, N. A. vii. 17; Ath. i. 3a; Tertullian Apology xviii.5.

tratus did possess a library it could not have been a very extensive one and would not have attracted a great number of readers, for the Athenian public at that time was accustomed to making the acquaintance of literature by ear rather than by eye and it may be doubted if there were many Athenian citizens who could read.

The Pisistratidae were undoubtedly a family with some literary inclination and appreciation. Their patronage of literature, however, was primarily due to the policy which led them to support the popular cults and endeavor to make the religious festivals finer and more interesting. They should be given great credit for lending encouragement to the drama when that art was still in its infancy. That the tyrants seem usually to have instituted literary programs in connection with festivals is an evidence of the interest of the people in literature. Otherwise festival programs would certainly have been different. How else can the fact that all the festivals of Greece of whose programs much is known, even those primarily athletic, provided some place for literary contests or displays of intellectual achievement be explained except on the grounds of the keen intellectual and literary interests of all the Greeks?

### Thessaly

Knowledge of the history of Thessaly is rather scanty and must be pieced together from scattered references.<sup>1</sup> That anything is known of the princely families who ruled Thessaly during the sixth and fifth centuries is largely due to the fact that they were patrons of poets. As Theocritus pointed out in a poem by which he hoped to win the favor of Hieron II of Syracuse, Antiochus, the Aleuadae, and the Scopadae had hosts of servants, many flocks, and vast riches; but in spite of all this glory their names would have been forgotten had it not been for the Ceian bard who by his hymns of praise made them and the horses who had brought them victories in the games famous among later generations.<sup>2</sup>

After the downfall of the Pisistratidae at whose court he had lived for some years Simonides left Athens and found a welcome at the courts of several Thessalian lords with whom he lingered,

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. G. Gilbert, Handbuch der Griechischen Staatsalterthümer, II, 5 ff.; Hiller von Gaertringen, "Das Königtum bei den Thessalern in sechsten und fünften Jahrhundert," Aus der Anomia: Archaeologische Beiträge für C. Robert (Berlin, 1890), pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Theoc. xvi. 34 ff.



writing scolia and epinician odes, until about the time of the Persian invasion.<sup>1</sup> Some of the time he spent at the court of the Scopadae in Crannon and for them was composed the scolion which formed the basis of the discussion in Plato's Protagoras. With regard to the occasion of this poem which declares that it is hard for a man to be truly good, four-square in hands and feet and mind, Bergk says: "Videtur Scopas ob facinus aliquod commissum in gravem hominum reprehensionem incidisse; ab hac invidia ut Scopam liberaret poeta hoc carmen composuit."<sup>2</sup> The poet may either have had some specific act in mind or have been endeavoring to present an ethical code which would condone a general policy of oppression and injustice.

Legend related that in an ode written for one of the Scopadae Simonides devoted more space to the Dioscuri than his patron thought consonant with the real purpose of the song, praise of his victory. Therefore only part of the commission previously agreed upon was paid and the poet was bidden to seek the rest from the Dioscuri. They paid the debt by causing Simonides to be summoned from the banquet hall just in time to escape the falling roof which wiped out the family.<sup>3</sup> Although the miraculous rescue is merely another of those mythical tales which so frequently gathered about the poets of antiquity some accident, perhaps the collapse of a building, does actually seem to have caused the sudden extinction of the family. The story of the fatal accident was in all probability told in the threnos which Simonides wrote for his former patrons. The fragment of this dirge which has survived warns of the uncertainty of life--one should make no prophecies as to the morrow and count no man wealthy for the future because he happens to be so today.<sup>4</sup> There was also a threnos written in honor of Antiochus, son of Echekratides and Dyseris, another of the princes whose fate would have been oblivion had it not been for Simonides.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Schmid-Stählin, op. cit., I, Band I, 508; Bowra, Gr. Lyr. Poetry, pp. 337 ff.

<sup>2</sup>T. Bergk, Poetae Lyrici Graeci (4th ed.; Leipzig, 1914), on Simon. fr. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Callim. fr. 71, Aelian fr. 78, and Cicero De Oratore ii. 352 say that the miraculous rescue was from the fate which annihilated the Scopadae. Quint. Inst. Or. xi. 2. 11 ff. relates a story the same in detail but reports uncertainty as to whether the poem in question was written for Glaucus of Carystus, Leocrates, Agatharcus, or Scopas.

<sup>4</sup>Fr. 6 D.

<sup>5</sup>Fr. 34 B. Cf. Schol. Theoc. xvi. 34.

It was probably after the destruction of the Scopadae that Simonides was a guest of Aleuas at Larissa, for whom he no doubt composed encomia as he had for the other Thessalian princes. Here at the court of the Aleuadae may have occurred the first meeting of Simonides and the then youthful Pindar, the two masters of Greek lyric who were to be rivals once again in a much more splendid princely household, that of Hieron of Syracuse. The earliest extant ode of Pindar was written in honor of the boy Hippocleas' Pythian victory in the double footrace in 498. The poem was written, not at the order of the victor or his family, but at the request of the sons of Aleuas, Thorax the eldest in particular. Their praises as upright rulers supporting the Thessalian state were sung in its closing lines.<sup>1</sup> There can be only surmise as to why the order for the ode came from the Aleuadae, but the most plausible reason is that the victor was a court favorite.<sup>2</sup> Pindar must have already won some fame to have attracted the attention of these patrons, but it must have been a source of great encouragement to him to have found favor in the eyes of the most important of the Thessalian princely families, and their patronage may well have led to other commissions for the young poet.

What Anacreon, then an old man, may have done on the assassination of Hipparchus, the beneficent patron who had sent a penteconter for him after the death of Polycrates, is uncertain. The atmosphere of democratic Athens, however, was probably not to the liking of one of his temperament and it is highly probable that he followed Simonides to Thessaly where he could continue to enjoy the atmosphere of an aristocratic court. This supposition is supported by two dedicatory epigrams which are assigned with reasonable certainty to Anacreon. One commemorates an offering of the Thessalian Echekratides to Dionysus,<sup>3</sup> and the other was composed for the dedication of a garment planned by Dyseris, presumably the lady who was the wife of Echekratides and mother of Antiochus.<sup>4</sup> Besides writing epigrams Anacreon probably spent the last years of his life singing lyrics for the amusement of Thessalian feasts, as he had previously done in Samos and Athens.

The only other Thessalian prince who is mentioned in a literary connection is Alexander of Pherae who became tyrant in 369 and seems to have been an extraordinarily cruel and suspicious

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<sup>1</sup>P. x. 5 and 64 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. W. Christ, Pindari Carmina (Leipzig, 1906), p. 215; schol. P. x. 99.

<sup>3</sup>Fr. 107 D--P. A. vi. 142.

<sup>4</sup>Fr. 108 D--P. A. vi. 136. Cf. Schmid-Stählin, op. cit., I, Band I, 433; Bowra, Gr. Lyr. Poetry, pp. 305 f.

ruler.<sup>1</sup> The story is told of him that during a performance of Euripides' Troades he left the theatre because he, who showed no pity to anyone, did not wish to be seen weeping over the sorrows of Hecuba.<sup>2</sup>

It is perhaps too much to say that these not too scrupulous princes of a somewhat backward country were urged to the encouragement of poets by a real interest in literature for its own sake. An anecdote told of Simonides suggests that their patronage did not spring from a genuine interest in culture. Simonides, asked why the Thessalians were the only ones he did not cheat, replied that they were too stupid to be cheated by him.<sup>3</sup> The motive which impelled tyrants who had seized their power to patronize literature that they might the better hold the support of the people was unimportant in the case of princes firmly established in hereditary positions in a country of feudal organization, where the ordinary people held a position somewhat analogous to that of the Helots in Laconia. The average Thessalian, moreover, probably had no interest at all in literature. Patronage must have had some other motive than desire for popular favor. So the dominant consideration must have been a desire for personal glorification. Their exploits might be noteworthy in themselves but the songs of well-known poets could make them more so. Simonides and Pindar sang of their deeds of prowess. Anacreon amused them at their banquets. The princes received entertainment and undying fame, the poets a livelihood and a chance to attract the attention of other patrons by the excellence of their praises of the Thessalians. Perhaps also in Thessaly as in Macedonia there was a desire on the part of the nobility to acquire a veneer of Hellenic culture. Patronage of poets was an important means toward this end.

### The Sicilian Tyrants

The most brilliant gathering of literary men at any Hellenic royal court, or in fact anywhere in Greece, with the exception of democratic Athens of the fifth century, was found at the

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<sup>1</sup>Kaerst, "Alexandros von Pherai," Pauly-Wissowa.

<sup>2</sup>Plut. Pelopidas xxix. 9 (references to Plutarch, Lives, ed. Lindskog-Ziegler, Leipzig, 1914----). Cf. Aelian V. H. xiv. 40. Aelian says that the play was the Merope of Theodorus and that Alexander apologized in person to the poet.

<sup>3</sup>Plut. Mor. 15c.

court of Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse.<sup>1</sup> In 491 Gelon had made himself master of Gela, his native city, and six years later, requested by the exiled Syracusan nobles to restore them to their city, he had made himself lord of Syracuse. During his reign Gelon was busy expanding the territory under his control, providing an ordered government for his domain, and most important of all engaging in the struggles with Carthage which culminated in the battle of Himera and the complete defeat of the Carthaginian forces. In the course of this career, occupied as it was by problems of administration and by frequent wars, it is not surprising that Gelon had little attention to give to literature and other arts. He did have time, however, for the expansion and beautification of Syracuse. During his reign the city spread from the island of Ortygia to the mainland opposite, new fortifications were built, and no doubt there were many new buildings. Gelon was reputed to have been an ἄνθρωπος ἀμύμονος.<sup>2</sup> An anecdote related by Plutarch tells how at a banquet a lyre was passed around and all the other guests played and sang in turn, but when the lyre came to Gelon he ordered his horse to be brought in and demonstrated with what ease he could leap upon it.<sup>3</sup> However at least one literary man was associated with Gelon and there may have been others. The Syracusan comedian, Phormus, was a member of Gelon's household and the tutor of his children.<sup>4</sup> Both he and Epicharmus were probably presenting comedies in Syracuse during the reign of Gelon, presumably with his approval and support.<sup>5</sup>

In 478 Gelon was succeeded by his brother Hieron whose reign was that of a typical tyrant, who was suspicious, sometimes cruel, surrounded by a bodyguard of mercenaries, but who gathered about him a group of some of the most outstanding literary men whom Greece had ever produced.

"He made himself a name by splendid victories in the games of old Greece, and those victories were commemorated in

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<sup>1</sup>The best account of Sicilian history is E. A. Freeman, The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times (Oxford, 1891). Cf. Cambridge Ancient History, IV, 352 ff. and Vol. V, chap. vi.

<sup>2</sup>Aelian, V. H. iv. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Plut. Mor. 175b. Cf. the story of the Scythian king Anteas, who took the famous flute-player Ismenias captive. He ordered Ismenias to play during a banquet and although the rest of the company admired and applauded, the king said that he preferred the sound of a horse's whinny. Plut. Mor. 174f and 334b.

<sup>4</sup>Suidas, Phormus.

<sup>5</sup>Suidas, Epicharmus. Epicharmus was exhibiting in Syracuse six years before the Persian wars, i.e., in 486.



the laureate strains of Pindar and other poets. And he gathered round them all that was brilliant in the opening intellectual world of Sicily and of all Hellas. He has had his reward in the praises of those who best knew how to bestow abiding praise. The Augustan age of Rome, the Medicean age of Florence, were forestalled in the few years' reign of Hieron over Syracuse and Aetna."<sup>1</sup>

It was said that during his early years Hieron was ἀμουσώτατος, very little different from his brother Gelon, but when in later years he was afflicted with a painful disease he turned to the Muses for consolation and became the most devoted to them of all men.<sup>2</sup> That Hieron was ever completely without appreciation of literature is as unlikely as that his enthusiasm for it should be spoken of in the superlative degree. When the number of famous poets resident at his court and his generosity to them are considered one can not say that Hieron lacked all sympathy with the charms of the Muses, but one must not forget the part that policy usually played in any actions of tyrants and the personal glory which Hieron derived from the high praises sung by his poet guests.

Epicharmus, the Sicilian comedian, was presenting plays in Syracuse during the reign of Hieron and was apparently on good terms with that ruler.<sup>3</sup> It was of course to the advantage of a prince whose power had been won by force to look with favor on the amusements, such as comedy, which pleased the people and at the same time had a religious sanction. Various anecdotes were told in antiquity concerning Hieron and Epicharmus which indicate that Epicharmus was sometimes present at the court. According to one story the comedian was fined for making unseemly remarks in the presence of the tyrant's wife.<sup>4</sup> Another retails a witty retort made when the poet was invited to a banquet a few days after some close friends of his had been executed, 'Αλλὰ πρόην θύων τοὺς φίλους οὐκ ἐκάλεσας.<sup>5</sup> In one of his plays, the Νᾶσοι, Epicharmus commented upon the action of Hieron in interfering with the designs of Anaxilas of Rhegium upon Epizephyrian Locri.<sup>6</sup> This was a deed of which Hieron might well be proud, and it was lauded by other poets. Pindar in beautiful lines speaks of the joy and gratitude of the Locrian maiden over her deliverance.<sup>7</sup>

On the basis of a statement attributed to Timaeus to the

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<sup>1</sup>Freeman, op. cit., II, 232 f.

<sup>2</sup>Aelian V. H. iv. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Schmid-Stählin, Gr. Lit. Ges., I, Band I, 639; G. Norwood, Greek Comedy (London, 1931), pp. 92 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Plut. Mor. 175c.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 68a.

<sup>6</sup>Fr. 98 Kaibel. Cf. Freeman, op. cit., II, 240 f.

<sup>7</sup>P. 11. 18 ff.

effect that Xenophanes was a contemporary of Hieron, lord of Sicily, and of the poet Epicharmus, Freeman suggests that Xenophanes may have been at some time a visitor at Hieron's court.<sup>1</sup> The philosopher poet was born in Colophon about 565 and according to his own statement spent a wandering life and lived to be over ninety:

ἦδη δ' ἐπτά τ' ἔασι καὶ ἐξήκοντ' ἐνιαυτοί  
βληστρίζοντες ἐμὴν φροντίδ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα γῆν.  
ἐκ γενετῆς δὲ τότ' ἦσαν ἐρείκοσι πέντε τε πρὸς τοῖς,  
εἴπερ ἐγὼ περὶ τῶνδ' οἶδα λέγειν ἐτύμως.<sup>2</sup>

His wanderings took him to Zancle and Catana and he may well have visited Syracuse and met Hieron toward the end of his career. Xenophanes wrote philosophical poetry which frequently has a satirical tone. He attacked the common religious beliefs of the day as well as social practices. Such a man would not have found court life congenial and if he did visit Hieron it is improbable that he spent much time at his court.

Among the most illustrious of the guests at Syracuse was Aeschylus, who visited that city on at least two different occasions. In 476 Hieron founded a new city named Aetna on the site of Catana, whose inhabitants he had forced to move to Leontini. Hieron was proud of this new city, although the circumstances of its founding did not redound altogether to his credit. A motive in its founding may have been that he might have a city which would owe him something as its founder and in which he might take refuge if there was ever any need for that.<sup>3</sup> Aeschylus was invited to Sicily to compose a drama that was to be an omen of future prosperity for the new city.<sup>4</sup> This play, the Aetnaeae, must have been presented at Aetna soon after its foundation, presumably at some ceremony of dedication for the new town. From the few fragments that remain little can be determined about the play. In the longest, a scrap of four lines, the Palici, ancient Sicilian gods, are mentioned. It has been surmised that the drama was to consecrate the establishment of a Doric-Sicilian cult for the new city and that it may have dealt with the story of the birth of these divinities.<sup>5</sup>

Sometime between 472, when Aeschylus presented the Persae

<sup>1</sup>F. H. G., I, 215; Freeman, op. cit., II, 157 f.

<sup>2</sup>Fr. 7 D.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Freeman, op. cit., II, 243 ff.

<sup>4</sup>"Vita Aeschylī," Westermann, Scriptores Graeci, p. 120, ll. 51 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Schneidewin, "Aeschylus Aetna und die Paliken," Rh. Mus., III (1845), 70 ff.

at Athens, and 468, when he is reported to have been defeated by Sophocles, he probably returned to Sicily to present the Persae there at Hieron's request.<sup>1</sup> This play, which dealt with the humbling of the might of Persia, would be interesting not only to the Athenians but also to the Sicilians, who had played their part in the struggle between East and West by their defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera.

Aeschylus went to Sicily again after the presentation of the Agamemnon trilogy in 458 and a year or so later died at Gela where he was buried.<sup>2</sup> Why he returned to Sicily at this time is unknown. His former patron had been dead for nearly ten years and he is not known to have had any other connections in Sicily. Perhaps he had grown fond of the delightful island and regarded it as a pleasing place to spend his last years. Various tales were told as explanation for his leaving Athens. He was piqued because the elegy of Simonides on Marathon was preferred to his,<sup>3</sup> or because he was defeated in a tragic competition by the youthful Sophocles.<sup>4</sup> An even stranger tale related that he had to flee because the benches in the Athenian theatre, which at that time was still a temporary wooden structure, collapsed while a play of his was being performed.<sup>5</sup> Another explanation was the terrifying effect the appearance of the Eumenides had had on the audience.<sup>6</sup> All this was mere speculation and the reason may simply have been that he had grown tired of active life and wished to spend his old age in an atmosphere more quiet than that of Athens. Perhaps friends at Gela urged him to come there.

The three outstanding lyric poets of their age were luminaries of the Syracusan court. Simonides and his nephew Bacchylides from Ceos and the Theban Pindar were honored guests in Sicily and by their choral odes they made the names of their patrons, Theron of Acragas as well as Hieron, immortal. There was no doubt some rivalry among these poets. The Pindaric scholiasts found slighting references to the Celians in Pindar's work, but in

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<sup>1</sup>Schol. Aristoph. Frogs 1028; "Vita Aes.," Script. Gr., p. 122, ll. 93 f. Cf. Schmid-Stählin, op. cit., I, Band II, 189 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Marmor Parium, Ep. 59; "Vita Aes.," Script. Gr., p. 120, ll. 55 ff.; P. A. vii. 39, 40. Cf. A. E. Haigh, The Tragic Drama of the Greeks (Oxford, 1896), pp. 50 ff.; G. Norwood, Greek Tragedy (London, 1920), pp. 10 f.

<sup>3</sup>Vita Aes.," Script. Gr., p. 119, ll. 45 f.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.; Plut. Cimon viii. 9.

<sup>5</sup>Suidas, Aeschylus.

<sup>6</sup>Vita Aes.," Script. Gr., p. 120, ll. 1 ff.

no case is the suspicion certain and the rivalry may have been a friendly one.<sup>1</sup>

In a dedicatory epigram Simonides reported that in the archonship of Adeimantus (476) when he was eighty years old the Antiochid tribe, with him as poet, won the victory in the cyclic chorus. It is said that shortly after this victory he left Athens for Sicily.<sup>2</sup> Simonides had been a guest of royal courts before, first with the Pisistratidae and later in Thessaly but for perhaps fifteen years he had been one of the outstanding choral poets in democratic Athens. He does not seem to have written a great deal in Sicily, but to have been a sort of confidant and adviser of Hieron.<sup>3</sup> It is in such a position that he figures as the interlocutor in Xenophon's dialogue, Hieron, which sets forth the disadvantages of tyranny.

The only fragment mentioning the Deinomenids is an epigram for the spoils of the Carthaginian wars which were dedicated by the family at Delphi and this is regarded as falsely ascribed to Simonides.<sup>4</sup> The absence of any poetry that can be definitely assigned to the period of Simonides' residence in Syracuse is further evidence of his position as adviser rather than as court poet.

Simonides had other patrons in the west besides Hieron. The poems he had written for them had no doubt helped to call him to the attention of the lord of Syracuse. He wrote an ode of victory for Astylus of Croton who won Olympic victories in 488, 484, and 480. On the last two occasions Astylus was proclaimed as a Syracusan, to the disgust of the Crotoniats who took down the statue of him which had been erected in Croton and turned his house into a prison.<sup>5</sup> At this period it seems to have been rather unusual for a man to be honored by the granting of citizenship. More frequently the man whom it was desired to honor was made proxenus, as in the case of Pindar who was made Athenian proxenus at Thebes.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps this poem for Astylus, who must have been a

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Schol. on P. ii. 132; O. ii. 157, 158; R. Jebb, Bacchylides, the Poems and Fragments (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 13 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Fr. 77 D; Syrianus.I, 86, ed. Rabe.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Wilamowitz, Sappho und Simonides, p. 147; Bowra, Greek Lyric Poetry, pp. 385 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Fr. 106 D. Cf. Wilamowitz, Sappho u. Sim., pp. 199 f.

<sup>5</sup>Paus. vi. 13. 1. Pausanias says that the proclamation of Astylus as a Syracusan was made with the permission of Hieron, but he must have confused him with Gelon who was ruling at the time.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. infra, pp. 98 f.



friend of the Syracusan tyrant, brought Simonides to his attention.

For the victory of Anaxilas of Rhegium with the mule car Simonides wrote an ode of which one line has been preserved:

χαίρετ' ἀλλοπόδων θύγατρες ἵππων.<sup>1</sup>

When the poet was offered a small sum for an ode in commemoration of this victory he is said to have responded that it would be beneath his dignity to sing of mules, but when the fee was raised he composed the poem containing this lofty description of the lowly mule.<sup>2</sup> Another story represents Anaxilas as a person who would spare no expense. After the victory he prepared such a banquet that someone inquired in amazement what he would have done if he had won with horses.<sup>3</sup>

Simonides had also received commissions from the ruling family of Acragas. Xenocrates, the brother of Theron, won victories with the chariot at Delphi and at the Isthmus, both of which were celebrated by both Pindar<sup>4</sup> and Simonides.<sup>5</sup> The odes of Simonides may well have been the official ones in honor of the victories, although Bergk suggests that the odes of Pindar were the official ones and that what Simonides wrote was an encomium in honor of Xenocrates in which both his victories were mentioned<sup>6</sup>

While he was in Syracuse Simonides is reputed to have been the mediator in a dispute between Hieron and Theron, thereby averting a war. The occasion seems to have been trouble between Hieron and his brother Polyzelus, in the course of which Polyzelus appealed to Theron for assistance. As the armies were about to come to blows Simonides stepped in and made peace.<sup>7</sup>

It was probably at the suggestion of Simonides that his nephew Bacchylides was invited to Syracuse. Bacchylides had already won some fame with odes celebrating the victories of Ceian and Aeginetan athletes and now he was offered a broader field of endeavor. At Syracuse he was the rival of Pindar in celebrating the achievements of Hieron. Although Pindar's poetry was more magnificent, the greater lucidity of Bacchylides' verses and his

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<sup>1</sup>Fr. 19 D.

<sup>2</sup>Aristot. *Rhet.* 111. 2, p. 1405 b 24.

<sup>3</sup>Her. Pont. *Pol.* 25.

<sup>4</sup>P. vi and I. 11.

<sup>5</sup>Schol. Pind. I. 11, arg.

<sup>6</sup>Bergk, *P. L. G.*, on Sim. fr. 6.

<sup>7</sup>The accounts of this occasion are not at all clear.

Diodorus (xi. 48) tells the story of a reconciliation between Hieron and Theron, but without mention of the part played by Simonides. For the intervention of Simonides cf. Schol. on Pind. O. 11. 29 where several different versions are found. Cf. Freeman, *op. cit.*, II, 238 f. and 525 ff.

greater complaisance with the idiosyncracies of tyrants apparently won him the place of preference in the royal favor.<sup>1</sup>

The first ode that Bacchylides wrote for his new patron was in honor of Hieron's Olympic victory in the horse race in 476, a victory which was also celebrated in Pindar's first Olympian. Bacchylides' ode was sent from Ceos, but the use of ξένος by the poet in reference to himself suggests that he had visited Syracuse previously.<sup>2</sup> It was probably the first poem which Bacchylides had written for his great patron and so has somewhat the tone of a plea for future favor. Bacchylides also wrote a brief song in honor of Hieron's Pythian victory in the chariot race in 470.<sup>3</sup> This was intended to be sung when the announcement of the victory was made. The ode sung at the official celebration of the victory was Pindar's first Pythian. In 468 came Hieron's greatest achievement in the games, the winning of the chariot race at Olympia. This time it was Bacchylides alone who celebrated the great event in song.<sup>4</sup> Besides these epinician odes Bacchylides also composed a scolion, "a lovely blossom of the golden-robed Muses sent to Hieron renowned for his chestnut steeds and to his fellow banqueters." Well-built Aetna, a favorite theme for poets of the Syracusan court, was mentioned as well as the victories of the famous chestnut steed, Phoeniceus.<sup>5</sup>

Several other odes of Pindar besides those already mentioned were written in celebration of Hieron's victories. The third Pythian was in honor of victories won by Phoeniceus at Delphi in 482 and 478, but the ode was not composed until some time after the later date for Hieron is referred to as Αἰτναῖον ξένον,<sup>6</sup> and the city of Aetna was not founded until 476. It was perhaps sung on some anniversary of the victories. It was intended as a consolation to Hieron in his illness and the poet wishes that he could bring Cheiron or some son of Asclepius to heal his friend, but points out the ever recurring moral, that no mortal can have all blessings and that with Hieron's goodly share of blessings there must be mingled some things unpleasant. The second Pythian was composed not for a victory won at Delphi but for one gained at a Theban festival.<sup>7</sup> At the time of his Pythian victory in 470

<sup>1</sup>Schol. Pind. P. ii. 166, 171. Cf. Jebb, Bacchylides, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup>Ode v. 10 ff. Cf. Jebb, Bacchylides, p. 199.

<sup>3</sup>Ode iv.

<sup>4</sup>Ode iii.

<sup>5</sup>Ox. Pap., XI, #1361, fr. 4.

<sup>6</sup>L. 69.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. B. L. Gildersleeve, Pindar, The Olympian and Pythian Odes (New York, 1890), p. 253.

Hieron had himself proclaimed as a citizen of Aetna, which gave an opportunity for the famous description of the eruption of the volcano in the first Pythian and for a prayer that as its foremost citizen had won glory at the games, so the city might continue always to prosper and to be the home of victors.

Besides these odes a fragment of a hyporcheme addressed to Hieron has been preserved, which is said by the scholiast to have been sent by Pindar as a gift in addition to the ode celebrating Hieron's victory at Thebes.<sup>1</sup> Pindar also wrote a scolion for Hieron.<sup>2</sup>

Probably Pindar was in Sicily in 476, but it is likely that he did not remain very long, for he did not find court life congenial. When he was asked by someone why it was that Simonides lived with the Sicilian tyrants while he did not he replied: ὅτι βούλομαι ἐμμενέειν ζῆν, οὐκ ἔλλω.<sup>3</sup>

The epinician odes of Pindar and Bacchylides are similar in construction, first mention of the victory and praise of the victor, then a myth, then a return to the victor with prayers for his future success and, particularly in the case of Pindar, words of warning not to expect too much in life. But there are differences in the attitude of the two towards their patron.<sup>4</sup> Both speak of his interest in the Muses and his generosity to the poets whom he gathered around him.<sup>5</sup> In other spheres he is to Bacchylides a "just ruler of cities"<sup>6</sup> or:

θεοφιλή φίλιππον ἄνδρ' ἀρήϊον,  
τεθμίου σκαπτρον διδς  
ἰοπλόων τε μέρος ἔχοντα Μουσῶν.<sup>7</sup>

He speaks his praise in general terms without examples. But Pindar with his pan-Hellenic vision saw in him more than a patron of the arts and an upright ruler. Hieron was a champion of the western world, who had placed himself on the rolls of the deliverers of Hellas by helping in the defeat of the Carthaginians at Himera.<sup>8</sup> In lines of unusual loveliness he pictures the joy of the Epizephyrian Locrian maiden over the deliverance of her city and herself from the designs of Anaxilas.<sup>9</sup> In Pindar's poems much more than in those of Bacchylides are found words of caution. Hieron had reached the peak of mortal hopes and the presumption of desir-

<sup>1</sup>Frr. 105, 106 Schroeder; Schol. P. ii. 127.

<sup>2</sup>Frr. 125, 126 Schr.

<sup>3</sup>Vita Ambrosiana, Pind. Schol., ed. Drachmann, I, 3.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Jebb, Bacchylides, pp. 200 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Bacch. v. 1 ff.; Pind. O. i. 10 ff.

<sup>6</sup>iv. 3.

<sup>7</sup>iii. 69 ff.

<sup>8</sup>P. i. 72 ff.

<sup>9</sup>P. ii. 18 ff.

ing anything further would be sure to bring punishment. The closing lines of the first Pythian, which give counsel as to how a king might reign best, seem to suggest that Pindar had seen a little beyond the charmed circle of the court and realized that Hieron was not always the generous and great-hearted ruler that his poets laureate knew.

Hieron was not Pindar's only Sicilian patron. Odes written for other Syracusans may have been ordered because of the example of Hieron or, at his instigation. Two odes were composed for Chromius, the brother-in-law of Hieron, who had been appointed governor of the new city of Aetna.<sup>1</sup> The first Nemean, in honor of a chariot race, seems to have been written while the poet was in Sicily since he sings of standing at the portals of the victor's banquet halls and praises the generosity of his patron to his guests. The ninth Nemean was sung in honor of a victory won at the games of Apollo at Sicyon. In it Chromius is extolled as the ruler of Aetna and there is a prayer that the victor, having reached the peak of human fortunes, may now lead a peaceful life. Hagesias, a leading citizen of Syracuse who also had connections with Stymphalus in Arcadia, a victor with the mule car, was the recipient of the sixth Olympian. The ode was first sung at Stymphalus but perhaps was repeated in Syracuse. The eulogy of Hieron at the close and the prayer that he may kindly receive the triumphal band of Hagesias when he returns to his Syracusan home suggest that Hieron may have viewed the successes of his subjects with envy and that there may have been need for conciliation.<sup>2</sup>

Another Sicilian tyrant was also a patron of Pindar. Under Theron Agragas became one of the most beautiful cities of Sicily. The city was expanded far beyond its former limits on the acropolis and the temples on the ridge which were built at his command are still one of the most beautiful sights of the world.<sup>3</sup> The Olympic victory of Theron, won with the chariot in 476, was celebrated by Pindar in two odes. The first, Olympian ii, was the regular epinician ode, sung at a celebration in honor of the victory. The other, Olympian iii, was written to be performed at the Theoxenia, an Agrigentine festival in honor of the Dioscuri.<sup>4</sup> Pindar also composed an encomium in honor of Theron.<sup>5</sup> Besides the songs for Theron he wrote odes in honor of the Pythian and

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Freeman, op. cit., II, 491 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, Pindaros, p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Freeman, op. cit., II, 143 ff. and 222 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Schol. O. iii, arg. and 61.

<sup>5</sup> Frr. 118, 119 Schr.



Isthmian victories with the chariot of Xenocrates.<sup>1</sup> The Pythian victory was won in 494 and the Isthmian probably about 476. The Pythian ode was Pindar's first work for the Sicilian victors who were to be his most bountiful patrons. In both of these odes the subject is not so much Xenocrates as his son, Thrasybulus, who was perhaps his father's charioteer. An encomium of Thrasybulus was also composed by Pindar.<sup>2</sup>

In 472 Theron died and left his throne to his son, Thrasydaeus, who, like many of the tyrants of the second generation, exhibited all the worst traits of tyranny without the ability of his father. It was not long until tyranny was completely overthrown in Acragas.<sup>3</sup> Tyranny in Syracuse lasted a few years longer, but in 467 Hieron died and was buried in the city of Aetna where he was granted a hero's honors.<sup>4</sup> He was apparently succeeded by his youngest brother, Thrasybulus, who remained in power for less than a year. The downfall of tyranny scattered the literary circle which had been gathered at Syracuse by Hieron. But toward the end of the fifth century, about 405, tyranny again appeared in Syracuse in the person of Dionysius I. Under Dionysius the extent of the city was made even greater than it had been before. The walls were extended to include the Epipolae and a fortress was built at its apex of which extensive remains are still to be seen. He also made improvements on the island. He was constantly involved in wars and played a two-faced role, betraying Greeks to Carthaginians or aiding them against the Carthaginians as seemed to suit his purpose best.<sup>5</sup>

Under Dionysius a literary circle was again gathered at Syracuse, although it was by no means as brilliant a one as Hieron had maintained. The interest of Dionysius was that of a literary dilettante. In moments of leisure he turned his attention to the composition of poetry, particularly to tragedy with which he competed several times at Athens, finally obtaining the first prize. He gathered about him a group of prominent authors and treated them with much honor in order that they might criticize his poems and help him in his writing.<sup>6</sup> In this group was Philoxenus of

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<sup>1</sup>P. vi and I. ii. Cf. Freeman, op. cit., II, 268 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Fr. 124 a, b Schr.

<sup>3</sup>Freeman, op. cit., II, 295 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., II, 302; Diod. xi. 66.

<sup>5</sup>For the career of Dionysius and his son cf. Freeman, op. cit., III, 539 ff.; IV, chap. x; Cambridge Ancient History, VI, chap. v; R. v. Scheliha, Dion, die platonische Staatsgründung in Sizilien (Leipzig, 1934).

<sup>6</sup>Diod. xv. 6.

Cythera, a dithyrambic poet, who in his youth was taken captive and sold as a slave. He came into the possession of the poet Melanippides who educated him and gave him his freedom.<sup>1</sup> He probably presented dithyramps at Athens for he was parodied by Aristophanes.<sup>2</sup> Philoxenus was too free spoken for a court poet, for one day when he was asked to pass judgment on a bad poem of his patron he expressed his true opinion and was thrown into the stone quarries at Dionysius' command. The next day the tyrant was prevailed upon to give him another chance, but when he had come to the palace and Dionysius had read another poem he said not a word to the tyrant but, turning to the attendants who had led him in, said, "Back to the quarries." Dionysius could not restrain a smile at this retort and forgave the poet. When he was asked again for a comment he was able to evade the issue by an ambiguous answer.<sup>3</sup>

A tragedian named Antiphon was also one of the critics of Dionysius who had not learned the peril of offering anything but favorable comment to a royal artist. He had the misfortune to be put to death by the tyrant for criticizing his tragedies, or according to another story for asserting that the best bronze in the world was that from which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton were made.<sup>4</sup>

Plato paid his first visit to Sicily during the reign of

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<sup>1</sup>Suidas, Philoxenus. Cf. W. Christ, Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur (6th ed.; Munich, 1912), I, 251 f.

<sup>2</sup>Plutus 290 ff. and schol.

<sup>3</sup>Diod. xv. 6; Stob. Flor. xiii. 16; Lucian Adv. Indoct. 15. Another version of the reason for Philoxenus' disgrace is given in Ath. i. 6f and Schol. Aristoph. Plutus 290. Philoxenus was caught in an intrigue with a courtesan of Dionysius' named Galateia and was thrown into the quarries. While there he wrote his most famous dithyramb, the Cyclops, in which the Cyclops was said to represent Dionysius, Galateia was the girl in question, and Odysseus was the poet himself.

<sup>4</sup>Philostratus Lives of the Sophists i. 15. Philostratus was speaking of the orator whom he had confused with the poet. The orator Antiphon was executed in Athens in 411, six years before Dionysius became tyrant, so he could hardly have had any dealings with him. The tragedian, the real subject of Philostratus' story, is mentioned by Aristot. Rhet. ii. 6, p. 1385 a 10 and Plut. Mor. 68a. Cf. Haigh, The Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p. 464.

Dionysius I, probably about 388. He came, perhaps to see Mt. Aetna, and while he was in Sicily he attracted the attention of the youthful Dion, who was much influenced by him. Dion persuaded Dionysius to give Plato an audience.<sup>1</sup> The tyrant, however, did not find the views of the philosopher to his liking and is reported to have had him sold as a slave for twenty minae,<sup>2</sup> or according to a more likely version of the story, to have sent him back to Greece in the company of the Spartan Pollis, who had been secretly instructed either to kill Plato on the voyage or sell him as a slave. Accordingly he was taken to Aegina, then at war with Athens, and sold. He was soon ransomed by friends and enabled to return to Athens.<sup>3</sup>

The Syracusan historian, Philistus, was an ardent supporter of Dionysius at the outset of his career, but presently the tyrant became angry with him and sent him into exile. He went to Adria where he devoted his time to working on his history, but his efforts to regain the favor of Dionysius by flattery in the pages of this work did not meet with success.<sup>4</sup> It was not until the younger Dionysius succeeded his father that Philistus was recalled. The case of Philistus is somewhat analogous to that of the poets who endeavored to win the favor of royal patrons by means of songs of praise, although Philistus was glorifying Dionysius to gain political ends rather than for the sake of support in his literary endeavors.

Some tyrants were praised by their coterie of authors because of their liberality, but Dionysius seems not to have been overly generous with his group of "critics." There was a story of a citharodist who delighted Dionysius by his performance so much that he was promised a talent, but when he tried to collect it the next day the tyrant replied that he had received pleasure in listening and the poet pleasure in anticipation of the gift, so that the score was even and there was no need of payment.<sup>5</sup>

Dionysius' fame in the field of literature was due more to his own efforts as a poet than to his patronage of other writers. He gathered literary men about him not that they might write for him but that they might criticize his productions, favorably

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<sup>1</sup>Plut. Dion iv. 7. Cf. P. Shorey, What Plato Said (Chicago, 1933), pp. 1 and 42 ff. for Plato's association with both the elder and younger Dionysius.

<sup>2</sup>Diod. xv. 7. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Plut. Dion v. 6; cf. Mor. 471e; Freeman, op. cit., IV, 195.

<sup>4</sup>Plut. Dion xi. 6. Cf. Christ, op. cit., I, 525 f.

<sup>5</sup>Plut. Mor. 333f.

of course, and perhaps lend him their assistance. Dionysius is said to have written tragedies, comedies, and history.<sup>1</sup> The names of a few of his tragedies have been preserved: Adonis, Alcmena, Leda, and Λύτρα Ἑκτορος.<sup>2</sup> The attribution of history to him is in all probability a mistake, perhaps due to a confusion with some other author.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that he may have written comedy since there are some remarks attributed to him which might have been taken from comedies. However it is also said of him that while he was very fond of tragedy and toiled enthusiastically on its composition his attitude toward comedy was quite different, since he was not φιλόγεγως.<sup>4</sup> In the hope that he might there find inspiration Dionysius collected writing tablets of famous authors. He is reported to have purchased the tablet of Aeschylus<sup>5</sup> and also that of Euripides.<sup>6</sup>

In 384 a splendid retinue was sent to Olympia from Syracuse, not only chariots to take part in the games but also a group of the finest actors obtainable, who were to recite some of Dionysius' poetry. Such recitations were not a part of the official program, but the large assemblage of spectators from all parts of Greece was willing to listen to poets and orators and gave them an opportunity to win applause and increased prestige.<sup>7</sup> An attempt to exclude Dionysius' chariots from the race was prevented by the authorities but owing to various accidents all his entries were unsuccessful. When the recitation of the poems was begun, at first the audience was charmed by the wonderful voices of the readers, but presently they began to perceive the utter worthlessness of the poems and compelled the performers to stop. Dionysius was distressed almost to madness by this harsh reception of his literary efforts, but his fawning courtiers assured him that some time he would be appreciated and his zeal for writing did not abate.<sup>8</sup> At the time of this Olympic festival Dionysius was viewed with great suspicion and hatred by the Greeks. Not all his military operations were directed against barbarian foes but he had made war on Hellenes, destroyed some Greek cities in Sicily and southern Italy and transported their inhabitants to other places. The outbreak of the crowd at Olympia was an explosion of hatred

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<sup>1</sup>Suidas, Διονύσιος, Σικελίας τύραννος. Cf. C. Zuretti, "L'Attività Letteraria dei due Dionisii di Siracusa," Rivista di Filologia, XXV (1897), 529 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Nauck, Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta<sup>2</sup>, pp. 793 ff.

<sup>3</sup>F. H. G., II, 80.

<sup>4</sup>Aelian V. H., xiii. 18.

<sup>5</sup>Lucian Adv. Indoct. 15.

<sup>6</sup>Vita Euripides; F. H. G., III, 52, fr. 73b.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. infra, pp. 74 f.

<sup>8</sup>Diod. xiv. 109.



against Dionysius himself and had little or no connection with the actual merits of the poems.<sup>1</sup>

After he had made several unsuccessful attempts Dionysius at last won first place at the Lenaea in Athens with a play called *Αὔρα Ἑκτορος*.<sup>2</sup> The good news was brought to Syracuse with all speed by a member of the chorus, eager for a reward. So overjoyed was Dionysius at this success that at the banquet in celebration he drank very heavily, although he was ordinarily temperate, and the unusual indulgence brought on an illness which proved fatal.<sup>3</sup> The play must have had some merit to have been awarded first place in Athens, but in this case again the judgment passed on Dionysius' productions must be discounted somewhat because of political considerations. About 393 the Athenians had attempted to gain the support of Dionysius and had passed a decree in his honor.<sup>4</sup> But the Athenian attempts came to naught and Dionysius remained a luke-warm supporter of Sparta. In 371, however, Athens and Sparta became allied and an alliance was made between Dionysius and the Athenians in 367.<sup>5</sup> Now that Dionysius was on the side of the Athenians perhaps it seemed to their advantage to keep his good will by approving his tragedy.

The younger Dionysius also gave some attention to literary pursuits, devoting his attention, however, to philosophy rather than to poetry. He is reported to have written, besides epistles, a work on the poems of Epicharmus.<sup>6</sup> Soon after his accession, at the urgent suggestion of Dion, Plato was invited to visit Syracuse again. The opportunity of using his influence with the young ruler with a view to making Syracuse an approximation of his ideal state, together with the urging of his friend Dion, prevailed upon him to accept the invitation. The philosopher's reception was most magnificent and for a time the court was enthusiastic over his teaching and he seemed to be acquiring some influence with the young prince. But there were other advisers of a different sort, who disliked Dion and were alarmed at the increasing influence of Dion and Plato. Dionysius was influenced into sending Dion into exile and Plato was watched and presently sent away. Later he was summoned to Syracuse again, but it was not long, perhaps because of Plato's constant urging of Dion's return, before relations became strained and Plato was sent back again to

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Freeman, *op. cit.*, IV, 194.

<sup>2</sup>Tzetzes *Chil.* v. 178-81. <sup>3</sup>Diod. xv. 74.

<sup>4</sup>Hicks and Hill, *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1901), 91. Cf. 108.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 112. Cf. *Camb. Anc. Hist.*, VI, 79, 93, 132 f.

<sup>6</sup>Suidas, Διονύσιος, υἱὸς τοῦ Σ. τυράννου.

Greece.<sup>1</sup> So Plato returned to his Academy without having attained the erection of his model state.

Other philosophers were seen at Syracuse. Aristippus of Cyrene, on an occasion when Plato refused gifts from Dionysius, remarked on the safe generosity of Dionysius who gave little to men like him who wanted more and offered much to Plato who would accept nothing.<sup>2</sup> Aeschines, the Socratic, was another philosophic visitor,<sup>3</sup> who perhaps was introduced to Dionysius by Plato.<sup>4</sup>

After Dionysius had been overthrown the literary circle in Syracuse ceased to exist, although a century later Hieron II may have followed somewhat in his greater namesake's footsteps. At least Theocritus made an effort to secure his patronage.<sup>5</sup>

The Syracusan courts of the two periods of tyranny present quite different aspects. Hieron brought to Syracuse some of the greatest poets Greece ever produced. Drama was represented by Aeschylus and lyric poetry by Pindar, Bacchylides, and Simonides. The interest of Hieron in literature was apparently genuine, although personal ambition that delighted in praise was a strong motive with him. The elder Dionysius' interest in drama and lyric was very personal. He was himself a writer and was much more interested in his own productions than in those of other men. His literary coterie was expected to give aid in composition and to offer flattering criticism, but not to furnish competition. Under the younger Dionysius the composition of the literary circle again changed. Dionysius II had a philosophical bent and several philosophers were guests at his court. This interest may have been due to the influence of Dion.

#### Macedonia

For centuries, while civilization and culture were developing rapidly in Greece proper, Macedonia remained a backward country, its inhabitants a people whose chief interests were war and the chase and to whom the amenities of civilized life meant very little. The kings of Macedon were faced with a country disorganized within and continually threatened by the wild Thracian and Illyrian tribes without. Gradually they brought these prob-

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<sup>1</sup>Plut. Dion xi ff. Cf. Freeman, op. cit., IV, 244 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Plut. Dion xix. 3; Diog. Laert. ii. 67. Aristippus may have been present at the courts of both Dionysius I and II; cf. Natorp, "Aristippos aus Kyrene," Pauly-Wissowa.

<sup>3</sup>Lucian De Parasito 32, 33; Diog. Laert. ii. 63.

<sup>4</sup>Plut. Mor. 67d.

<sup>5</sup>Theoc. xvi.

lems under some semblance of control and began to take an interest in the affairs of their southern neighbors. Hellenic settlements which had been planted in Chalcidice were becoming a threat to the expanding power of Macedon. It could no longer keep aloof from the current of Greek life and it began to seem desirable to the Macedonian leaders that their subjects should have at least a veneer of Hellenic culture.<sup>1</sup>

The first Macedonian king to exhibit a desire for a closer relationship with Greece was Alexander, son of Amyntas, commonly known as the Philhellene,<sup>2</sup> whose reign occupied the first half of the fifth century. Alexander tried to win a name for himself in Greece through participation in the Olympic games. At first he was denied admittance to the lists on the grounds that he was a barbarian and no Hellene, but he declared that he was an Argive. On this basis he was adjudged a Hellene and allowed to compete, with the result that he tied for first place in the footrace.<sup>3</sup> He must have lost the playoff, however, for he does not seem to have been recorded as an actual victor.<sup>4</sup> Dedications of spoils taken from the Persians were made by Alexander at Delphi and Olympia.<sup>5</sup> Besides the hope that he might attract the favorable notice of the Greeks Alexander was anxious to introduce Hellenic culture into his country. He gathered at his court a group of poets among whom was Pindar, who wrote an encomium of Alexander in which he

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<sup>1</sup>For the history of Macedonia cf. Cambridge Ancient History, VI, chaps. viii, ix, xii, xiii; F. Geyer, Makedonien bis zur Thronbesteigung Philipps II (Munich, 1930); A. Momigliano, Filippo il Macedone, Saggio sulla Storia Greca del IV Secolo A. C. (Florence, 1934); H. Berve, Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage (Munich, 1926). The second section of Berve contains biographical notes on all the persons connected with Alexander, the Great.

<sup>2</sup>Dio Chrys. 11. 33; Schol. Thuc. 1. 57.

<sup>3</sup>Herod. v. 22. The common Greek view of the Macedonians seems to have been that they were a species of barbarian. Cf. Demosthenes' denunciation of Philip; if a legitimate heir wasted his patrimony he would be censured, but if a slave or some one who had no right to it squandered the fortune how much worse the penalty, "And yet in regard to Philip and his conduct they feel not this, although he is not only no Greek and in no way akin to Greeks, but not even a barbarian of a place honorable to mention; in fact a vile fellow of Macedon, from which a respectable slave could not be purchased formerly." ix. 31, trans. Kennedy.

<sup>4</sup>How and Wells, Com. on Herod., v. 22. 2.

<sup>5</sup>Solinus ix. 13.

was addressed as:

δλβίων δμῶνυμε Δαρδανιδᾶν,

and the immortality bestowed by the poet's praise was recalled, "It is fitting to hymn the good with fair songs, for this alone approaches immortal honors, but the fair deed left in silence perishes."<sup>1</sup> Bacchylides, rival of Pindar in Syracuse, was another poet who sang the praises of Alexander, writing for him a scolion, "A golden wing of the Muses to grace his banquet on festal days."<sup>2</sup> Alexander was described by Solinus as "voluptati aurium indulgentissime deditus," and as one who held his circle of poets with liberal gifts.<sup>3</sup> The judgment of this late compiler of odd facts as to the motives for Alexander's patronage of literature is probably unduly flattering. It is more likely that Alexander lent his patronage to literary men partly because of his desire for a closer rapprochement between his country and its southern neighbors and for the spread of Hellenic culture in Macedonia, and partly from the desire for personal glorification and fame which would come to him from the songs of the poets who visited his court.<sup>4</sup>

Alexander's successor, Perdiccas II (454-413), also displayed an interest in letters while he was engaged in playing an exciting game in the affairs of Greece during the Peloponnesian war, siding now with the Athenians and now with the Spartans as best suited his interests.<sup>5</sup> A dubious tradition attributed a Macedonian sojourn to the great physician, Hippocrates of Cos.<sup>6</sup> Of literary men the dithyrambic poet, Melanippides, spent some time at the court of Perdiccas and died there.<sup>7</sup> Suidas mentions two poets by the name of Melanippides, the one the maternal grandfather of the other, but the consensus of modern scholars is that Suidas was in error in supposing that there was more than one poet of that name.<sup>8</sup> He was a native of Melos but probably lived much of his life at Athens, where he was spoken of as the foremost dithyrambic poet of his day.<sup>9</sup> He is said to have made inno-

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<sup>1</sup>Frr. 120, 121 Schr. Cf. Wilamowitz, Pindaros, pp. 318 f.

<sup>2</sup>Ox. Pap., XI, 1361, #1. Cf. A. Körte, "Bacchylidea," Hermes, LIII (1918), 125 ff.

<sup>3</sup>ix. 14.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Geyer, op. cit., pp. 47 f.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 50 ff. Thuc. i, ii, passim.

<sup>6</sup>"Vita Hipp.," Script. Gr., p. 450, 23 ff.; Suidas, Hippocrates. Cf. Gossen, "Hippokrates," Pauly-Wissowa.

<sup>7</sup>Suidas, Melanippides.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. E. Rohde, "Γέγνε in den Biographica des Suidas," Rh. Mus., XXXIII (1878), 213 ff.; Maas, "Melanippides," Pauly-Wissowa.

<sup>9</sup>Xen. Mem. i. 4. 3.



vations in music. According to the comic poet Pherecrates he was responsible for the beginning of the degeneration in music but was an admirable musician in comparison with such poets as Phrynis, Cinesias, and Timotheus, who followed him.<sup>1</sup> He spent the last years of his life at the court of Perdiccas where perhaps in the company of other poets, he helped provide an atmosphere of Hellenic culture.

Perdiccas was succeeded by his illegitimate son, Archelaus (413-399), who gained the throne by a series of murders; but after this stormy beginning he proved the most enlightened ruler whom Macedonia had as yet had. According to Thucydides he did more for the country in the way of fortification, road building, and similar enterprises than had any of his eight predecessors.<sup>2</sup> Not only did he turn his attention to such matters but he was the king most interested in peaceful arts that the country had yet seen. He was anxious for his domain to have an atmosphere of Hellenic culture and wished to bring it into closer touch with its more civilized neighbors. He transferred the capital of Macedonia from Aegae to Pella and spent four hundred minae on his palace, which was decorated by the painter Zeuxis.<sup>3</sup> During his reign Archelaus gathered at Pella a galaxy of the most prominent literary artists of the time. Perhaps the invitation found them not unwilling to exchange Athens, distraught by a long drawn out war and troubled by internal dissensions, for the quieter atmosphere and more secure patronage of a royal court, even if it meant life in what was regarded as a semi-barbaric country.<sup>4</sup>

Archelaus founded a festival of Zeus and the Muses at Dion, a Pierian town near the foot of Olympus. This festival, held in the fall, lasted for nine days and besides a sacrifice to Zeus and probably athletic contests was adorned by dramatic presentations.<sup>5</sup> It was no doubt modeled on the great national games of Greece and designed to become another of their number, attracting visitors from far and near. Euripides was invited to Macedonia to produce plays for the festival. He produced the Orestes in

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<sup>1</sup>Fr. 145 K.

<sup>2</sup>11. 100. 2. Cf. Geyer, op. cit., pp. 84 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Ael. V. H. xiv. 17. Pliny N. H. xxxv. 36 says that Zeuxis painted an Alcmena for the Agrigentines and a Pan for Archelaus and refused to accept pay for either of these works because he regarded them as beyond price.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. W. Nestle, Euripides, der Dichter der Griechischen Aufklärung (Stuttgart, 1901), pp. 16 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Diod. xvii. 16. 3; Arrian Anab. 1. 11. 1; Ulpian on Demos. xix. 401. Cf. Geyer, op. cit., pp. 100 f.

Athens in the spring of 408 and presumably left for Macedonia soon afterward. The drama, Archelaus, which he composed in honor of his patron, was in all probability produced at the first celebration of the festival at Dion, perhaps in 408.<sup>1</sup> The play glorified the reigning king under the guise of the ancestor of the Macedonian line, who, in the usual legend, was called Caranus or Perdiccas, but was named Archelaus for the purposes of this drama. What is probably the argument of the Euripidean play is found in Hyginus.<sup>2</sup> Archelaus, son of Temenus and grandson of Heracles, driven into exile by his brothers, sought refuge in Macedonia with King Cisseus. He was promised the kingdom and the hand of Cisseus' daughter in marriage if he saved him from beseiging enemies. Archelaus easily routed the foes and returned to seek the promised reward, but Cisseus, advised by evil counselors, prepared a pit of blazing coals, carefully concealed with willow branches, in order that Archelaus might fall into it unawares. He was warned by a friendly servant, obtained a secret conference with Cisseus, and threw him into his own pit. Then in accordance with an oracle of Apollo he fled with a she-goat as his leader and founded a city, named Aegae from the goat, the city which became the capital of Macedonia. Several fragments of the play have been preserved, most of them sententious in character, but one line probably has reference to the activities of Archelaus in bringing the country into a better state of order:

ἔκαστ' ὀδοῦρόν τις λυμεῖνός τις.<sup>3</sup>

Whether Euripides produced any other tragedies at Dion is not known, but the Bacchae and probably the Iphigenia at Aulis and the Alcmaeon, the plays which were produced with the Bacchae at Athens after the poet's death, were written in Macedonia and were intended for production there.<sup>4</sup> Such passages as the description of Pieria in the Bacchae<sup>5</sup> were designed especially to please the Macedonian audience. According to Ridgeway, the Ehesus, usually regarded either as a spurious or as a very early play, was written during Euripides' Macedonian sojourn and was

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<sup>1</sup>"Vita Eur.," Script. Gr., p. 134. Cf. W. N. Bates, Euripides, a Student of Human Nature (Philadelphia, 1930), pp. 225 ff.; I. A. Hartung, Euripides Restitutus (Hamburg, 1844), II. 558 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Fab. ccxix.

<sup>3</sup>Fr. 260 Nauck.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. W. Ridgeway, "Euripides in Macedon," Classical Quarterly, XX (1926), 8.

<sup>5</sup>409 ff. Cf. 560 ff. Cf. A. E. Haigh, The Tragic Drama of the Greeks (Oxford, 1896), p. 311; M. Pohlenz, Die Griechische Tragödie (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 484 ff.

intended for production at Dion.<sup>1</sup>

Euripides is said to have been treated with great honor by Archelaus.<sup>2</sup> Various anecdotes were told illustrative of this regard. Once at a banquet some one asked Archelaus for the gift of a golden goblet, but Archelaus had the cup presented to Euripides, retorting to the one who had made the request: σὺ μὲν γὰρ αἰτεῖν ἐπιτήδειος εἶ καὶ μὴ λαμβάνειν, οὗτος δὲ λαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ αἰτῶν.<sup>3</sup> Euripides held some kind of an official position, ἐπὶ τῶν διοικήσεων, which was probably connected with the theatre or the regulation of the dramatic contests.<sup>4</sup> It was reported that the leader of the plot which resulted in the assassination of Archelaus was one Decamnichus, whom the king had permitted Euripides to flog because of an insulting remark.<sup>5</sup>

Euripides died in Macedonia in 406. Tradition assigns him a violent end. According to one version of the legend he was torn asunder by hunting dogs belonging to Archelaus. The dogs' keeper had been bribed by two envious and otherwise unknown poets, Arridaeus of Macedonia and Crateuas of Thessaly, to let them loose.<sup>6</sup> Another tale related that the poet was torn apart, not by hounds, but by women incensed at the alleged hatred of the tragedian for their sex.<sup>7</sup> An epigram in the Palatine Anthology refutes the stories of violence by dogs or women and suggests, with plausibility, old age as the cause of the poet's death.<sup>8</sup> Archelaus was said to have been deeply grieved and not only to have provided Euripides with a sumptuous funeral but to have shorn his hair and exhibited other outward signs of sorrow.<sup>9</sup> The request of Athenian envoys for the body of the poet was refused<sup>10</sup> and he was buried in Macedonia. A cenotaph erected to him in Athens bore an epitaph attributed to Thucydides:

Μνημα μὲν Ἑλλὰς ἅπασ' Εὐριπίδου· ὅστέα δ' ἴσχει  
γῆ Μακεδόν' ἥ γὰρ δέξατο τέρμα βίου.

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<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., pp. 9 ff.

<sup>2</sup>"Eur. vita," Script. Gr., pp. 140, 141. Cf. Lucian De Parasito 35.

<sup>3</sup>Plut. Mor. 531d. Cf. ibid., 177a.

<sup>4</sup>"Eur. vita," Script. Gr., p. 134. Cf. P. Girard, "La Trilogie chez Euripide," Revue des Études Grecques, XVII (1904), 166.

<sup>5</sup>Aristot. Pol. v. 8. 13, 1311 b 32.

<sup>6</sup>Diod. xiii. 103. 5; Suidas, Euripides; Gellius N. A. xv. 20. 9.

<sup>7</sup>Suidas, loc. cit.

<sup>8</sup>vii. 51. Cf. Haigh, Tragic Drama, p. 216.

<sup>9</sup>Solinus ix. 15.

<sup>10</sup>Gellius N. A. xv. 20. 10.

πατρίς δ' Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλάς, Ἀθηναί' πλεῖστα δὲ Μούσαις  
τέρψας, ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον ἔχει.<sup>1</sup>

The tragedian Agathon was also invited to the Macedonian court that he as well as Euripides might produce tragedies for the new festival at Dion.<sup>2</sup> He remained at the court of Archelaus until his death, which was perhaps later than 405, for in the Frogs, which was produced in that year, the answer to a query as to his whereabouts was ἐς Μακάρων εὐωχίαν, which may be a surprise for ἐς Μακεδόνων εὐωχίαν.<sup>3</sup>

Timotheus of Miletus, a writer of dithyrambs who made many innovations in music, was ridiculed in Athens,<sup>4</sup> and ejected from Sparta,<sup>5</sup> was another member of Archelaus' court.<sup>6</sup> His dithyrambs were probably sung at Dion or at some other Macedonian festival.

Still another branch of poetry was represented at the court at Pella by the epic poet Choerilus of Samos,<sup>7</sup> who was at one time in the train of the Spartan Lysander. It was said that he received from Archelaus four minae a day, which he spent on dainty living.<sup>8</sup> Choerilus wrote an epic on the Persian war which won such high favor in Athens that it was decreed that it should be recited along with Homer,<sup>9</sup> probably at the Panathenaea. Such an epic, dealing with actual historical events instead of mythical adventures was an innovation. It is reasonable to suppose that Archelaus invited Choerilus to Pella with the understanding that he should write an epic dealing with the history of the Macedonian royal family, as Euripides had glorified its beginnings in tragedy. Choerilus then was a forerunner of the poets in Alexander's train whom Alexander hoped might immortalize him as Homer had immortalized Achilles.

Archelaus was said to have had some interest in philosophy and to have invited Socrates to visit his court, but Socrates preferred his Athens and poverty to the Macedonian court and the gifts of Archelaus.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Paus. i. 2. 2; P. A. vii. 45.

<sup>2</sup>Ael. V. H. xiii. 4. Ibid., ii. 21 says that Agathon was accompanied to Macedonia by his lover Pausanias.

<sup>3</sup>Aristoph. Frogs 83 ff. Cf. schol. and Suidas, Agathon.

<sup>4</sup>Pherecrates fr. 145 K.

<sup>5</sup>Timotheus Persae 219 ff. Cf. infra, pp. 86 f.

<sup>6</sup>Plut. Mor. 177b. Cf. Christ, Gr. Lit. Ges., I, 252 f.

<sup>7</sup>Suidas, Choerilus. Cf. Christ, op. cit., I, 137 f.

<sup>8</sup>Ath. viii. 345d.

<sup>9</sup>Suidas, loc. cit.

<sup>10</sup>Dio Chrys. xiii. 30; Diog. Laert. ii. 25; Seneca De beneficiis v. 6. 2. Arg. I to Aristoph. Clouds denies a story that Aristophanes was vexed at Socrates because the philosopher had



Some scholars have believed that Thucydides spent part of his exile with Archelaus, a supposition based on a dubious passage in Marcellinus' life of Thucydides.<sup>1</sup> There he is said to have been a contemporary of the comedian Plato, Agathon, Niceratus, Choerilus, and Melanippides, some of whom are known to have been residents of the court. Wilamowitz believed that he was there,<sup>2</sup> but O. Gilbert<sup>3</sup> and Christ<sup>4</sup> maintain that such a supposition is wrong and that the supposed Macedonian sojourn can not be regarded as historical fact.

After the murder of Archelaus in 399 Macedonia was torn by internal dissensions which lasted until Philip gained the throne in 359 and once more brought stability to the government. From the moment of Philip's accession Macedonia's strength rapidly increased until at the end of his reign she was the controlling power in Greece. During the period of anarchy much of the veneer of Hellenic culture which it had been the policy of previous monarchs to encourage had been lost, for it had failed to make a lasting impression on the Macedonian nobles who much preferred the arts of war to those of peace. In Philip Macedonia again found a ruler who appreciated the culture of Greece.<sup>5</sup>

Although Philip was interested in the spread of culture in his country only a few literary men are known to have resided at his court. It is possible that the enmity with which he was regarded throughout Greece, and particularly in Athens, tended to keep men of letters from seeking the favor of the Macedonian king.<sup>6</sup> Anaxandrides of Rhodes, a poet of the middle comedy, took part in dramatic contests held by Philip in 348.<sup>7</sup> This presentation must

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received an invitation from Archelaus and he had not. Cf. Socrates' remarks in the Crito (52 E) after Crito has begged him to flee. He might earlier in his life have gone off to Lacedemon or Crete or any other Greek or foreign city if he did not like Athens. But he has always preferred Athens to all other places. Shall he run away now?

<sup>1</sup>29.

<sup>2</sup>Die Thukydideslegende, "Hermes, XII (1877), 359 ff.

<sup>3</sup>"Zur Thukydideslegende," Philologus, XXXVIII (1879), 243 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Op. cit., I, 481.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. D. G. Hogarth, Philip and Alexander of Macedon (New York, 1897); Momigliano, op. cit.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. E. Stemplinger, "Die literarischen Kreise am Makedonischen Königshofe," Bayerische Blätter für das Gymnasialschulwesen, XXXII (1896), 412.

<sup>7</sup>Suidas, Anaxandrides. Cf. Christ, op. cit., I, 443.

have been at the festival at Dion, which seems to have been celebrated with greater splendor than usual after the capture of Olynthus in 348.<sup>1</sup>

Philip's attitude is perhaps most clearly shown by his desire that his son should receive the best possible education. Aristotle, whose father, Nicomachus, had been court physician to Amyntas II, was chosen tutor for the young prince.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle had not as yet gained a great reputation in Greece so probably his father's connection with the Macedonian royal house was instrumental in his selection, but Philip could have made no better choice. He repaid Aristotle's services by restoring the philosopher's native city, Stageira, which he had previously destroyed, and bringing back its scattered inhabitants, who were fugitives or had been sold as slaves.<sup>3</sup>

The association with Aristotle doubtless had a deep influence on Alexander.<sup>4</sup> Besides the effect it may have had on his character it was said that his interest in medicine was due to Aristotle<sup>5</sup> and certainly his interest in literature was greatly increased by the philosopher's training. Alexander not only showed an aptitude for literary subjects but he was also instructed in some of the more abstruse branches of learning. It is said that he objected when Aristotle published some of the lectures that had been given to him, fearing that he might no longer excel other men. Whereupon Aristotle pointed out that the works were intended only as handbooks for the initiate and would be of no use to those who had had no previous training.<sup>6</sup> Relations between Alexander and Aristotle were not altogether broken off after Aristotle's duties were finished and he had returned to Athens. He was provided with eight hundred talents with which to carry on investigations in zoology,<sup>7</sup> and a thousand men were put to work collecting specimens of the Asiatic fauna.<sup>8</sup> Two works of Aristotle were dedicated to Alexander, 'Ἀλεξάνδρος, ἡ ὑπὲρ ἀποίκων, a work which perhaps recommended a solution of the population question by the founding of colonies, and περὶ βασιλείας, which was no doubt a pattern for the behavior of a prince.<sup>9</sup>

Alexander was by nature a lover of learning and fond of

<sup>1</sup>Dem. xix. 192.

<sup>2</sup>Diog. Laert. v. 1, 4.

<sup>3</sup>Diog. Laert. v. 4; Plut. Alex. vii. 2, 3.

<sup>4</sup>For Alexander's career cf. Berve, op. cit.; T. Birt, Alexander der Grosse und das Weltgriechentum (Leipzig, 1925); F. A. Wright, Alexander the Great (London, 1934).

<sup>5</sup>Plut. Alex. viii. 1.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., vii. 6 ff.

<sup>7</sup>Ath. ix. 398e.

<sup>8</sup>Pliny N. H. viii. 14.

<sup>9</sup>Diog. Laert. v. 22. Cf. Berve, op. cit., II, 70 ff.

reading. He was particularly devoted to Homer, whom he considered τῆς πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφόδιον, and, according to Onesicritus, he always kept Aristotle's recension of the Iliad under his pillow.<sup>1</sup> When a small casket, considered one of the most precious of Darius' possessions, was brought to him Alexander decided that it was a worthy container for this book, which was thereafter known as 'Ιλιάς ἐκ τοῦ νόθητος.<sup>2</sup> Alexander is said to have admired Stesichorus because he was an imitator of Homer.<sup>3</sup> He admired Pindar so much because of his brilliancy and his praise of his ancestor, Alexander the Philhellene,<sup>4</sup> that when Thebes was captured and sacked orders were given that the house of Pindar should be spared and the descendants of Pindar were among the few Thebans who were not sold as slaves.<sup>5</sup>

In the interior of Asia Alexander could find no books, so Harpalus was requested to send him some. He received the works of Philistus, the Sicilian historian; some of the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and the dithyrambs of Teles-tus and Philoxenus.<sup>6</sup> The interest of Alexander in literature is further shown by his sponsoring of musical contests frequently during his expedition. He is reported to have displayed little or no interest in athletic sports and never to have offered prizes for boxing or the pancratium, but to have held frequent contests of tragedians, citharodes, singers to the flute, and rhapsodists, as well as to have offered prizes for such sports as hunting and fencing.<sup>7</sup> In the case of the dramatic performances the plays were usually repetitions of old ones, but there seem to have been a few dramatic poets in the retinue who occasionally produced works of their own. Python of Catana was the author of a satyr play, 'Αγῆν, which must have been produced in 324, since it contained a reference to the flight of Harpalus.<sup>8</sup> The contests followed sacrifices to the gods, usually on occasions of thanksgiving for victories or successful campaigns. Alexander seems always to have been careful to observe the religious practices by respecting omens and offering the customary sacrifices.<sup>9</sup> This was prob-

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<sup>1</sup>Plut. Alex. viii. 2. Cf. Plut. Mor. 328d.

<sup>2</sup>Plut. Alex. xxvi. 2; Strabo xiii. 1. 27.

<sup>3</sup>Dio Chrys. ii. 33.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. supra, pp. 47 f.

<sup>5</sup>Arrian Anab. i. 9. 10; Ael. V. H. xiii. 7; Plut. Alex.

xi. 12.

<sup>6</sup>Plut. Alex. viii. 3.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., iv. 11.

<sup>8</sup>Ath. xiii. 595e. Athenaeus expresses uncertainty as to whether the 'Αγῆν was written by Python or by Alexander himself. Cf. Berve, op. cit., II, 338 f.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. ibid., I, 85 ff.

ably a means of keeping up the morale of the army. The contests accompanying the sacrifices honored the gods and provided relaxation and entertainment for the army. A large company of the outstanding performers of Greece, including the famous actors Athenodorus and Thessalus, accompanied the army.<sup>1</sup> In Phoenicia, after the return from Egypt, an unusually splendid dramatic contest was held with the kings of Cyprus acting as choregi and the generals as judges.<sup>2</sup> The retinue also included comedians belonging to the troop of Lycon of Scarphe. This Lycon, by inserting a begging line in one of the comedies he was performing, won a laugh from the king and a present of ten talents from the royal treasury.<sup>3</sup> The band of actors apparently did not follow the army into India, for during that portion of the campaign only athletic contests are mentioned in connection with sacrifices; but afterwards musical competitions took place on several occasions. When the army reached Ecbatana a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the success of the Indian venture was celebrated with unusual splendor. Gymnastic and musical contests were held as usual. The latter must have been on a grander scale than ordinarily since three thousand artists had just arrived from Greece.<sup>4</sup> The fact that literary performances were a regular part of the entertainment provided for the army indicates not only the interest of Alexander in literature but shows even more clearly that such entertainment appealed to the soldiers, who had probably been attending the dramatic festivals at home since they were children.

Alexander was attended on his expedition by a group of literary men: poets, philosophers, and writers of history, all of whom hoped to profit by their association with him. After the time of Alexander Greek commanders continued to be attended by writers. In Rome too the same thing is found. Fulvius was accompanied on one of his campaigns by the poet Ennius. Two books of the Annales were devoted to the events of that expedition.<sup>5</sup> Alexander would have liked to be the hero of an epic as was Achilles, whom he counted happy because he had had Homer as the herald of his fame,<sup>6</sup> but unfortunately he had fallen upon evil days unproductive of a poet capable of such an achievement or even of a historian who could adequately record his deeds. It was said that

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<sup>1</sup>Arrian Anab. iii. 1. 4; Plut. Mor. 334e.

<sup>2</sup>Plut. Alex. xxix.

<sup>3</sup>Plut. Mor. 334e.

<sup>4</sup>Plut. Alex. lxxii. 1; Arrian Anab. vii. 14. 1.

<sup>5</sup>V. Moscrip, "Literary Patronage in Rome 240 B.C.-90 B.C.," unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Chicago, 1928, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup>Arrian Anab. i. 12. 1.



the march of the ten thousand was better known because of Xenophon than was the expedition of Alexander.<sup>1</sup> Histories of the expedition were written by Ptolemy and Aristobulus, who were both members of the army, but both of these were composed after Alexander's death.<sup>2</sup> The official journal, the *Ἑφημερίδες*, kept by Eumenes and Diodotus, was merely a chronicle of events, of great historical importance but no literary value.<sup>3</sup> Besides these there were histories written during the course of the campaign by members of the party which did make some pretense of being literary works. Such was the history written by Callisthenes by which he hoped to make Alexander famous.<sup>4</sup> This Callisthenes was a nephew of Aristotle, who recommended him to the favor of Alexander when he left Macedonia for Athens.<sup>5</sup> Previously to the Asiatic expedition Callisthenes had written a Hellenica. During the course of the campaigns he occupied himself with composing a history of Alexander's exploits in eulogistic style. His labors came to an abrupt end when he lost the favor of the king and was arrested, perhaps because of supposed complicity in a plot against Alexander's life. He was either put to death or else was kept in

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., i. 12. 3. Mention of Xenophon raises the question as to just why he happened to be with the ten thousand. He himself says that he accompanied the army not as a general or a captain or even a common soldier, but on the invitation of his friend Proxenus, who promised to introduce him to Cyrus (Anab. iii. 1. 4). Apparently he hoped to receive some advantage from association with Cyrus which was not of a military nature. A possibility is that Xenophon hoped to find in Cyrus a patron who would reward his efforts in writing a history of the expedition. When Cyrus was killed and the ten thousand were forced to retreat that plan came to naught but in spite of the loss of his leader Xenophon did write an account of the expedition. If this is the true explanation of Xenophon's motive in going to Asia he may be called the first "military correspondent" in history. His position with the ten thousand, then, as long as Cyrus was alive, was analogous to the position of the historians who accompanied Alexander on his campaign and wrote accounts of his exploits. I am indebted to Professor Bonner for permission to use this suggestion as to the position of Xenophon with the ten thousand, which he has often made to his classes.

<sup>2</sup>Arrian Anab. i. proemium. Cf. Berve, op. cit., II, 64 ff., 333 f.

<sup>3</sup>Ath. x. 434b. Cf. Berve, op. cit., I, 43 f.

<sup>4</sup>Arrian Anab. iv. 10. 1. <sup>5</sup>Diog. Laert. v. 4.

chains and died within a short time.<sup>1</sup>

Another historian in the train of Alexander was Anaximenes of Lampsacus who wrote τὰ περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον.<sup>2</sup> Marsyas of Pella, who had been brought up with Alexander, was the author of a work on Macedonian history from its beginning until Alexander's march into Syria after the founding of Alexandria.<sup>3</sup> Onesicritus of Aegina was the son of Philiscus, who had been an elementary teacher of Alexander.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps through his father he found a place among the philosopher followers of the king. He also took an active part in the campaign, for he was one of the pilots on the voyage from India.<sup>5</sup> He produced an encomiastic work entitled πῶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἤχθη.<sup>6</sup>

Alexander is said to have had an active interest in philosophy, an interest which is shown by his gifts to Aristotle for research, his attentions to the Indian philosophers, especially Dandamis and Calanus,<sup>7</sup> and the large number of men philosophically inclined who were among his followers. One of these was Anaxarchus of Abdera, a follower of the Democritean school. His attitude of flattery toward the king was shown by his remarks to him in his grief over the impetuous murder of Cleitus, that a king was above law.<sup>8</sup> He enthusiastically supported the practice of prostration before the king, an act to which Callisthenes objected violently.<sup>9</sup> Pyrrho of Elis, friend and pupil of Anaxarchus, also accompanied the expedition.<sup>10</sup> It was said that he wrote a poem about Alexander for which he received a gift of one thousand gold pieces.<sup>11</sup> Xenocrates, the head of the Academy, refused an invitation to accompany the expedition and returned a large sum of money which Alexander had sent him.<sup>12</sup> Listed among the works of

<sup>1</sup>Arrian Anab. iv. 14; Plut. Alex. lv. Cf. Berve, op. cit., II, 191 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Suidas, Anaximenes. Citations occur in Harpocration, Ἀκινάκης κ. Ἀλκίμαχος.

<sup>3</sup>Suidas, Μαρσύας, Περιάνδρου, Πελλαῖος.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., Philiscus. Cf. Berve, op. cit., II, 288 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Arrian Anab. vi. 2. 3. Onesicritus is here reproached for referring to himself as ναύαρχος when he was only a κυβερνήτης.

<sup>6</sup>Diog. Laert. vi. 84.

<sup>7</sup>Plut. Alex. viii. 5.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., lii.

<sup>9</sup>Arrian Anab. iv. 10. 6 ff.

<sup>10</sup>Diog. Laert. ix. 61.

<sup>11</sup>Sex. Emp. Adv. Gram. 282.

<sup>12</sup>Diog. Laert. iv. 8 reports that Xenocrates was given a large sum, of which he kept three thousand drachmas and returned the rest. Suidas (Xenocrates) reports a gift of thirty talents, all of which was returned with the comment that a king needed money but a philosopher did not. Plut. (Alex. viii. 5) mentions fifty talents with no statement that it was returned.

Xenocrates is Στοιχεῖα πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον, περὶ βασιλείας, in four books, which it is said Alexander had requested him to write.<sup>1</sup>

Several poets were members of the royal entourage and all attempted to produce poems in praise of Alexander, but there was none to compose epics comparable to the Iliad or choral lyrics like those in which Pindar had sung the praise of Alexander's ancestor and the Sicilian princes. An epic poet, Aeschrion of Mytilene, was a member of the train but what he may have written is unknown.<sup>2</sup> Among the company was Agis of Argos, one of the most zealous of the flatterers of the king and the worst poet in the world with the exception of Choerilus of Iasus, another of Alexander's attendant poets.<sup>3</sup> According to Horace, Choerilus, in spite of his bad verses, was pleasing to Alexander.<sup>4</sup> Other accounts are not so favorable. It was said that Alexander remarked that he would rather be the Thersites of Homer than the Achilles of Choerilus<sup>5</sup> and that there was an agreement whereby the poet was to receive a gold piece for each good line and a box on the ears for each bad one. He received seven gold pieces but died of the blows.<sup>6</sup>

Alexander was genuinely interested in philosophy and literature and welcomed to his circle many of the literary men of the day.<sup>7</sup> He hoped to find some men worthy of encouragement who would make him the hero of immortal songs, but that ambition was foiled by the lack of literary genius during the period of his career.

The motives for the patronage of literature were many and varied. Patrons often had a genuine interest in literature. This was especially true of private individuals but even they were not always entirely disinterested. In the case of princes who gathered literary circles about them there were almost always other considerations besides an interest in literature for its own sake that led them to look with favor on men of letters. The patronage of tyrants was not limited to literature but they encouraged other arts as well. Almost all of them devoted some attention to the beautifying of their cities with public buildings. Sculpture

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<sup>1</sup>Diog. Laert. iv. 14; Plut. Mor. 1126d.

<sup>2</sup>Suidas, Aeschrion.

<sup>3</sup>Arrian Anab. iv. 9. 9; Curtius viii. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Epis. 11. 1. 232 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Porphyrion on Hor. Ars Poet. 357.

<sup>6</sup>Ps.-Acro on ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Berve, op. cit., I, 65 ff.

also attracted their attention. Political motives seem to have been largely responsible for such activity. The rich were oppressed by high taxes and the poor kept busy on the public works, so that uprisings were discouraged. Also civic beautification increased the prestige of the state in the eyes of its own citizens as well as in the eyes of its neighbors.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes, as in the case of Polycrates, the reason for literary patronage seems to have been little more than a desire for entertainment and a longing to have one's praises sung in verse. In the case of other tyrants patronage of literary men was part of a policy aimed at keeping the favor of the people. The relationship of many forms of literary expression to religion throughout the history of Greek literature must not be forgotten. Tyrants often showed an interest in the cults in which the common people were most interested and endeavored to make these cults as interesting as possible by the introduction of musical and dramatic contests. The festivals of Dionysus were most often favored because Dionysus was primarily a god of the common people. At Corinth and in Athens the tyrants paid particular attention to his cults and their support of poets was partly in order that they might increase the splendor of the festivals by the excellence of the dramatic and choral poetry which was presented.

The desire for personal glory can not be overlooked. In all the royal literary circles there were poets who sang the praises of their patrons in glorious verses. The poems of Pindar preserved the names and fame of Thessalian princes who might have been altogether forgotten but for him. The fame of the lords of Sicily was spread abroad by the songs of their poets laureate. Besides the flattery that was heaped on princes by poets who were already recognized members of their retinues poets sometimes wrote poems of adulation in order to win the favor of noble patrons.

In the case of the Macedonian kings a different motive was at work than was found in the case of the Greek tyrants. The Macedonians were reasonably secure in the possession of a hereditary throne and did not need to exert themselves especially to keep the favor of the people, as did tyrants who had seized their power by force. They ruled a country which was destined to play an important part in the history of the world but which was still very backward. The Macedonian nobles were interested in war and the chase and gave no heed to intellectual pursuits. When the kings began to realize the part that their country might play in

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. T. R. Glover, Democracy in the Ancient World (Cambridge, 1927), p. 45.



Greek affairs they saw the need of a closer relationship with the rest of Greece, which was to be attained partly through the introduction of Hellenic culture. To this end they invited Greek writers to reside at their courts and established festivals on the pattern of those held by their southern neighbors. Later when the supremacy of Macedonia had been attained Alexander did not have to patronize letters for this reason, but he seems to have had as real an interest in literature for its own sake as did any Greek prince. Besides he longed to be the hero of an epic which might be comparable to the Iliad, but in his day there were neither poets nor historians capable of doing justice to his abilities and his achievements.

It is interesting to note how often the same poet was a guest at the court of more than one patron. Sometimes, as in the case of Anacreon and Polycrates, the downfall of the tyrant necessitated a change of residence. Anacreon received a most opportune invitation to visit Athens. Sometimes a poet secure at one court may have changed his residence because of offers of greater honors at another. Poets such as Pindar, who wrote odes on commission, had affiliations with several royal patrons at the same time. Political sympathies had very little to do with changes of patron. Court poets were not expected to have any politics. Besides the resemblances in the policies of tyrants are quite marked and a change of patron would not mean much change in the political environment.

This sort of literary patronage necessarily had some influence on the types of poetry which were composed. A court poet to retain his position had to write the kind of poetry that his patron desired. Unfortunately the remains of the works of many court writers are too fragmentary to indicate what part their patrons played in their poetry. Doubtless there were often passages of praise. Such passages are found in the epinician odes in honor of the Sicilian tyrants. But the writer of this period preserved some measure of independence. He might even venture to criticize his patron quite frankly. Pindar admonished Hieron to restrain his ambition and moderate his policies. Epicharmus also spoke openly to that tyrant without rebuke.<sup>1</sup> The court poet never seems to have descended to the depths of fulsome praise which are found in Hellenistic poets<sup>2</sup> and in Roman times. Poets who wrote for festivals had only incidental opportunities to praise their patrons. Poetry of this sort often had no reference at all to the patron. On the other hand occasionally the patron was the

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Norwood, Greek Comedy, pp. 92 f.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Theoc. xvi, xvii.

theme, as in the case of Euripides' Archelaus, which dealt with the ancestry of the Macedonian royal house.

Little has been said about the remuneration which poets received from their patrons, because unfortunately little is known on the subject. Poets who resided permanently at a royal court were supported at the expense of their patron. When a writer received a royal invitation it is to be supposed that the patron provided the means of transportation or at least paid his protege's traveling expenses. Besides sustenance at the royal board poets also received gifts, sometimes of great value, in recompense for productions particularly pleasing to their patrons. A man of ability at the court of a generous patron might conceivably become quite wealthy. Later, in the case of poets such as Pindar and Simonides, poems were written on commission. The price, agreed upon beforehand, no doubt depended on the length of the poem desired, the generosity of the patron, and the fame of the poet.

Patronage should not be measured entirely in the terms of material considerations. It meant a great deal to a young man with literary inclinations to obtain an audience for his poetry. If he secured an influential patron his fame would be spread abroad and other people would become interested in him. In the days when there were few books some means was necessary to introduce a young writer to the public. If he could gain the ear of an influential patron the battle was almost won. If he became known through such a man's support presently he might be invited to write for other patrons and would be able to produce his works at the festivals, which offered the Greek poet his best means for publicity.

### CHAPTER III

#### PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS AS PATRONS

Patronage of literature was not limited to royal personages but there were also many private citizens, belonging for the most part to the aristocracy, who gave writers their support and encouragement, both materially and by helping them to secure a hearing for their productions. Anecdotes illustrating this form of patronage are not numerous but are sufficient to show that the interest of prominent citizens, while not as important as the support given to literature by democratic governments, especially in Athens, or by princes, is a factor that can not be overlooked in a discussion of literary patronage.

Occasionally there is found a story not of encouragement but of the reverse. Solon, a poet himself and interested in intellectual affairs, is said not to have looked with favor on all forms of poetic endeavor. He saw one of the first tragedies produced by Thespis, before competition in tragedy had been established. After the performance he asked Thespis if he was not ashamed to exhibit such falsehoods before so many people. When told that it was only in play he replied that if such things were praised in sport presently they would be found in serious dealings also.<sup>1</sup> The authenticity of this story can not be altogether certain since so many tales gathered about the name of Solon, but if it is supposed to have taken place when Solon was an old man it is quite possible chronologically. Miss Freeman's contention that the date of the first dramatic competition (534) makes it impossible is in error, since Plutarch expressly says that the incident occurred before the institution of tragic competition and Thespis and others had probably been producing a kind of tragedy for some years before the art was officially recognized.<sup>2</sup> The story is possible from the point of view of what is known about Solon's character and a line from the remains of his poetry seems to express a similar idea:

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<sup>1</sup>Plut. Solon xxix. 6, 7; Diog. Laert. i. 59. Cf. Plato's views on the place of poetry in education, Rep. iii.

<sup>2</sup>The Work and Life of Solon (Cardiff, 1926), p. 199. Cf. Pickard-Cambridge, op. cit., p. 107.

πολλὰ ψεύδονται δοῖδοί.<sup>1</sup>

Comments are often found on the splendor with which prominent individuals performed the office of choregus for dramatic or choral productions. But since the choregia was a liturgy that wealthy men were obliged to undertake, a successful performance of its duties indicates nothing as to the individual's interest in literature. Most choregi were anxious to make as good a showing as possible for the sake of the honor that would be theirs if their productions were successful. There can be no doubt that the choregus did a great deal to assure the successful production of any drama and therefore was in part responsible for the success or failure of the poet with whom he worked, but his services were a part of the support given to the drama by the state rather than an example of individual patronage.<sup>2</sup>

In connection with the drama Callistratus and Philonides, the men under whose names some of the plays of Aristophanes were produced, come to mind. Just what their relation to the poet may have been is a question difficult to determine. It will be discussed at greater length in another place, but one possibility is that they were men of recognized literary taste whose backing of the comedian enabled him to gain a hearing before the public.<sup>3</sup>

Another connection of private citizens with literary patronage was in the purchasing of epinician odes in honor of their athletic victories. Such patronage, while very important from the point of view of the poet, arose not necessarily out of the literary tastes of the victor but because a victory at the games was considered not to have been properly celebrated unless an ode had been sung in praise of it.<sup>4</sup> That the ode was a usual feature of the celebration is one more indication, however, of how universal the appreciation of literature was among the Greeks. If they had not thoroughly enjoyed good poetry would this custom have arisen?

The participation of prominent citizens in the encouragement of letters was not confined to the performance of choregic duties or to the ordering of triumphal odes. Such men often had a genuine interest in literature and good literary judgment. They assisted the poets in whom they were interested both materially and by aiding them to obtain hearings for their works. The patronage of a man of recognized literary taste was a great boon to an unknown author. Sometimes, however, the motive for patronage was not so much the patron's interest in literature as his desire

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<sup>1</sup>Fr. 21 D.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Reisch, "Χορηγία," Pauly-Wissowa.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. infra, pp. 106 ff. <sup>4</sup>Cf. infra, p. 74.



for personal glory. Such seems to have been the case of Themistocles who, as a young man still unknown, is said to have urged the citharist Epicles to practise at his home, in the hope that many would seek out the house where the famous man was to be found.<sup>1</sup> In 476 when he was choregus for Phrynichus, who won the first prize for tragedy, he seems to have spared no expense to secure success. Afterwards he set up a tablet commemorating the victory.<sup>2</sup> Themistocles' relations with poets seem to have been based primarily on political considerations. Simonides was on terms of friendship with him, a friendship probably based on the politician's belief that the poet might be useful to him.<sup>3</sup> Another poet did not fare so well. Timocreon of Rhodes had been exiled and hoped that he might be restored to his native land through Themistocles' influence. When he did not obtain his desire he reviled his former guest friend violently in verse.<sup>4</sup> A few verses attributed to Simonides are aimed at Timocreon, whose attack on Themistocles may have led the other poet to retaliate.<sup>5</sup>

The family of Charmides and Critias was one which had been friend and patron to many poets. Solon had been a friend of Dropides II and had given good advice to his son, the second Critias.<sup>6</sup> The grandson of this Critias, Critias III, was a patron of Anacreon.<sup>7</sup> Charmides, grandson of the third Critias and uncle of Plato, was an interested listener to the discourses of Socrates, while his cousin Critias IV, the leader of the thirty, was a poet himself. One of his poems is the source of some information about Anacreon, whom he probably knew when he was a child.<sup>8</sup>

Anacreon had no lack of patrons in Athens, for he was not only a member of the literary circle sponsored by Hipparchus and a friend of Critias, but he found another influential friend in Xanthippus, the father of Pericles. A poem of Anacreon's in honor

<sup>1</sup>Plut. Themistocles v. 3.      <sup>2</sup>Ibid., v. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. ibid., i. 4; v. 6, 7; Bowra, Gr. Lyr. Poetry, pp. 358 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Tim. fr. 1 D; Plut. Them. xxi. Cf. Bowra, op. cit., pp. 369 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Bowra, op. cit., pp. 379 f. Simon. fr. 99 D; P. A. xiii. 30, 31.

<sup>6</sup>Solon fr. 18 D. Cf. Plato Timaeus 20 E. For a family tree cf. J. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica (Berlin, 1903), II, 206.

<sup>7</sup>Plato Charmides 157 E; schol. Aesch. Prometheus 128.

<sup>8</sup>Fr. 8 D. Cf. Bowra, op. cit., pp. 307 ff.

of Polycrates opened with the praises of Xanthippus.<sup>1</sup> Pausanias saw a statue of Anacreon on the Athenian acropolis close beside the statues of Xanthippus and Pericles.<sup>2</sup> In view of the known friendship between Anacreon and Xanthippus this arrangement hardly seems accidental. Perhaps all the statues were set up at the order of Pericles.

As for Pericles there are no definite statements to indicate that he was an active patron of letters, but in view of his own intellectual attainments and the high development of literature at Athens during the Periclean age it is natural to suppose that the city's leader was interested in literary productions and gave much encouragement to promising authors. His interest in literature is indicated by the fact that the Odeon was built under his direction. He seems also to have been responsible for regulations of some sort with regard to the literary competitions at the Panathenaea.<sup>3</sup> He probably belonged to a circle interested in philosophical discussion among whose members was his teacher Anaxagoras.<sup>4</sup>

One of the most prominent figures in the social life of Periclean Athens was Callias, the son of Hipponicus, who inherited one of the largest fortunes ever accumulated at Athens, but who was reduced to poverty before his death. One of the causes of the dissipation of his fortune was his interest in the sophists, on whom he is said to have spent more money than did any other man. He hired Evenus of Paros, one of the lesser sophists, as tutor for his sons at a fee of five minae.<sup>5</sup> The sophists, represented by such figures as Gorgias, Protagoras, Prodicus, Hippias, and many others of less ability, were making a stir in Athens as proponents of a "new education." The interest of Callias and other men of similar position no doubt helped to increase their popularity as well as to line their pocket-books. Callias held open house for all the sophists who came to town and probably was entertaining some one of their number most of the time. The scene of Plato's Protagoras is laid in his house where, besides Protagoras, Prodicus and Hippias, both of whom had profited by their acquaintance with Callias,<sup>6</sup> were also guests. Callias was probably a person of little intellectual ability but he professed to be much interested in philosophical discourse. It no doubt gave him a feeling of importance to be host to these men who were attracting so much attention.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. supra, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>1. 25. 1.

<sup>3</sup>Plut. Pericles xiii. 9 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., iv. 6 f.; Plato Phaedrus 270 A.

<sup>5</sup>Plato Apol. 20 A, B.

<sup>6</sup>Xen. Symposium iv. 62.

Another wealthy man whose home may have been the gathering place of Athenian intellectuals was the Syracusan Cephalus, father of the orator Lysias. It was at his home in the Peiraeus that Socrates and some of his friends gathered for the discussion recounted in the Republic. Perhaps it had often been the scene of such discussions. Plato's picture introduces us to an old gentleman, charming and truly cultured. His home had an atmosphere quite different from that of Callias.

One of the chief diversions of fifth century Athens was intellectual discussion. Whenever a few men gathered together a conversation started which might deal with the questions of the day or with literary or philosophical topics. Some individuals were bound to stand out as leaders of such informal groups. The group which gathered about Socrates was no doubt the outstanding example of this sort of thing. All who were interested in philosophy gravitated to his circle which numbered among its members many of the outstanding men in Athens, Crito, Charmides, Critias, Xenophon, Alcibiades, of course Plato, and many others. Socrates made no pretense at being a formal teacher. Young men came to him voluntarily because they were stimulated by his company. The extent of his influence would be quite impossible to determine.<sup>1</sup>

Lysander, who was in charge of the Spartan operations in Asia and the Aegean and who was the victor at Aegospotami, reached a position of power unequalled by any other Greek of his time or before.<sup>2</sup> In the islands he was regarded with special favor and was even honored by altars and sacrifices in some places as well as by the singing of paeans.<sup>3</sup> He gathered a retinue of poets about him to recount his achievements in verse, as royal personages did both before and after him. One such was Choerilus, who was also at one time a member of the literary circle of Archelaus of Macedon.<sup>4</sup> Antiochus so pleased Lysander by verses written in

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<sup>1</sup>Socrates is known to have been very poor, yet to have refused to set himself up as a formal teacher or to accept fees (cf. Xen. Mem. 1. 2. 5; 1. 5. 6; Plato Apol. 19 D, 31 B, C). There are hints, however, that his wealthy friends, Crito for instance, did sometimes make him presents (cf. Diog. Laert. ii. 74, 121). Some of them were willing to pay a fine for him, should that be the penalty assessed at his trial (Apol. 38 B). Perhaps these same friends helped him financially on other occasions. Cf. E. Zeller, Socrates and the Socratic Schools, trans. O. J. Reichel (London, 1885), p. 65.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Camb. Anc. Hist., VI, 27 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Plut. Lysander xviii. 5; Ath. xv. 696e.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. supra, p. 52.

his honor that he was rewarded by a cap full of silver pieces. Antimachus of Colophon and Niceratus of Heracleia competed at the Samian Lysandreia with poems celebrating his achievements, on which occasion Niceratus won.<sup>1</sup> Spoils from Aegospotami were dedicated by Lysander at Delphi with a dedicatory epigram written by Ion of Samos.<sup>2</sup> Lysander, although not of royal lineage, had gained a position more influential than that of many kings, and he conducted himself in some ways very similarly to royal personages. Among these was his encouragement of poets to join his retinue and sing his praises. As in the cases of many royal patrons the motive was a desire for glory rather than any real interest in literary achievement.

For the fourth century less is known of the forms taken by literary patronage. The Macedonian kings, especially Alexander, continued to gather groups of prominent writers about them. In Athens the public encouragement of literature continued much as it had done in the preceding century. Also there were prominent citizens who devoted their attentions to the encouragement of promising authors. Among these was the orator Lycurgus, who was one of the most influential men in Athens in the period following 338. He was interested in the encouragement of religious observances, which by this time were coming to be somewhat disregarded, and to this end he proposed laws making some of the festivals more interesting. At his suggestion a contest of comedians was added to the feast of the chytri, the third day of the Anthesteria.<sup>3</sup> A decree in honor of Lycurgus mentioned his services in restoring or improving various public edifices, including the theatre of Dionysus.<sup>4</sup> The stone seats and the earliest stage buildings of which foundations remain probably were among the additions of Lycurgus.<sup>5</sup> Besides attention to festivals in the city he had a contest in honor of Poseidon instituted at the Peiraeus, at which there was to be a contest of cyclic choruses with at least three competing. Prizes of ten minae for first place, eight for second, and six for third were to be awarded.<sup>6</sup> Lycurgus' interest in the drama is shown in his efforts to preserve an accurate text of the great dramatists. An authoritative text was made at his order, which was to be kept in the city archives, and the γραμματοῦς was to see that actors used the official text, in order

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<sup>1</sup>Plut. Lys. xviii. 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup>E. Diehl, Anthologia Lyrica Graeca (Leipzig, 1925), I, 72.

<sup>3</sup>Plut. Mor. 841f.

<sup>4</sup>CIA, II, 240b.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. R. Flickinger, The Greek Theater and Its Drama (4th ed.; Chicago, 1936), pp. 69 f.

<sup>6</sup>Plut. Mor. 842a.



that corruptions might be avoided. Besides this he had bronze statues of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides erected in the theatre.<sup>1</sup>

By this time literary genius at Athens was at a low ebb. It is not until the next century when the Ptolemies at Alexandria became patrons of learning of all sorts and not only encouraged the writers of the day but also tried to preserve the literature of the past that there is anything more of interest in the field of literary patronage.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., 84lf.

## CHAPTER IV

### LITERATURE AND RELIGION

Throughout the classical period of Greek literature it is quite impossible to dissociate most literary forms from some relationship with religion. Religion was so intimate a part of Greek life that it must be considered somewhat in any phase of Greek activity. The Homeric poems may be considered as secular literature. They dealt principally with the deeds of men and were spread abroad by wandering minstrels who sang their lays at the banquets of princes. These bards, however, were considered as under the especial protection of divine powers. In later times epic did come under the protection of religion, since it was at religious festivals that rhapsodists recited the Homeric lays, often in competition with one another. At an early date contests of rhapsodes became a part of many religious festivals. One of these was the Brauronia, a festival of the Attic village of Brauron,<sup>1</sup> the home of the deme Philaadae to which Pisistratus belonged.<sup>2</sup> If Pisistratus really was the one who introduced Homeric recitations at the Panathenaea he was perhaps influenced by their place in this festival of his native deme. At many other festivals whose programs contained musical agones rhapsodists' recitations had a place, usually as the first event.

The earliest lyric poetry was written for the services of the gods. Both hymns for single voices and choral lyric belonged originally to worship. Even when lyric began to have a more personal note it still retained some connection with religion, if not in subject matter then in the occasions at which it was presented.<sup>3</sup> Religion was the source of two kinds of literary encouragement. In the first place the festivals, under state control, provided poets with opportunities, both in competition and in the writing of ritual poetry, to present their works. In addition the influence of the great athletic games was important, since they provided the occasions for poems in praise of the

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<sup>1</sup>Hesychius, Βραυρωνίαις. Cf. Mommsen, Feste der Stadt Athen, pp. 453 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Plut. Solon x. 3; Ps.-Plato Hipparchus 228b.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. H. W. Smyth, Greek Melic Poets (London, 1900), pp. xx f.

victors.

Songs for religious purposes did not always involve competition. A poet might be invited to write a hymn for a particular occasion or be honored by having one of his compositions selected for use at such a festival. However the love of a contest was deep-rooted in the Greek character and the musical honors paid to divinities seem to have been most frequently in the form of contests. In Homer there is no mention of musical competition, although gymnastic games were a usual part of funeral ceremonies. Perhaps it was not much later that musical agones found a place at such games, for one of the earliest legends of a musical contest reports the victory of Hesiod at the funeral games of Amphidamas at Chalcis.<sup>1</sup> According to one tradition his adversary at Chalcis was Homer,<sup>2</sup> but another tale made Delos the scene of a contest between Homer and Hesiod.<sup>3</sup>

The festival of Apollo at Delos was, in the early days of Greece, a very splendid one. The Homeric hymn to Apollo gives a graphic description of the gathering of the long-robed Ionians to watch the games, both athletic and musical, and to delight Apollo, Leto, and Artemis with the singing of hymns.<sup>4</sup> Eumelus of Corinth, who lived in the middle of the eighth century, wrote a prosodion for the people of Ithome to sing at the Delian festival. Two lines of it remain,<sup>5</sup> "the oldest extant cult song known to the Greeks, and older than the Homeric Hymn to Apollo."<sup>6</sup> Delos was the religious center of the Ionian people and to its festival many Ionian communities sent choruses to sing the praises of the god. A Delian prosodion was composed by Pindar,<sup>7</sup> who also wrote a paean to the Delian Apollo for the Ceians.<sup>8</sup> No doubt many other lyricists, including Pindar's rivals Simonides and Bacchylides, received commissions to compose lyrics for the Delian contest. During the fifth century the Delian festival became overshadowed as the gathering place of the Ionians by the Ephesia or Artemesia,

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<sup>1</sup>Hesiod Op. 654 ff. Rzach brackets these lines on the authority of Plutarch (Ex Com. in Hes. 62). Probably they were added at an early date. Pausanias (ix. 31. 3) reported having seen a tripod dedicated by Hesiod on Mt. Helicon.

<sup>2</sup>Plut. Mor. 153e, f; Contest of Homer and Hesiod 58 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Hesiod fr. 265 Rzach.

<sup>4</sup>Ll. 146 ff. Cf. P. Stengel, Die Griechischen Kultusaltertümer (3rd ed.; Munich, 1920), p. 256.

<sup>5</sup>Paus. iv. 33. 2.

<sup>6</sup>Smyth, op. cit., p. 163.

<sup>7</sup>Fr. 87, 88 Schr. Cf. Is. i. 1 ff.

<sup>8</sup>Paean iv. Ox. Pap., V, 841. Cf. Wilamowitz, Pindaros, pp. 325 ff.

at Ephesus.<sup>1</sup> At this festival also there were musical contests.<sup>2</sup> About 395, in honor of the dedication of a new temple of Artemis, a contest was held for a hymn to the goddess which was won by Timotheus.<sup>3</sup> During the Peloponnesian war, in 426, the Athenians purified the island of Delos and re-established the Delian festival as a four year one, but it probably did not regain its former splendor.<sup>4</sup>

At festivals of which musical agones were a part the various forms of competition and the order of events seem to have been more or less uniform.<sup>5</sup> First came the individual performances beginning with the recitations of rhapsodists. Then followed flute players, soloists who sang to the accompaniment of the flute, citharists, and singers who accompanied themselves on the cithara. At some Athenian festival, perhaps the Panathenaea, there was a contest of parodists. Hegemon of Thasos, who competed at Athens in the latter part of the fifth century and was much esteemed by the Athenians,<sup>6</sup> was named by Aristotle as the first parodist.<sup>7</sup> By this he did not mean that the parodying of epic was a new discovery but that Hegemon gave it sufficient literary importance so that it could take a place as a separate class in musical competitions. In an inscription of the fourth century dealing with the Amphiaraea at Oropus a contest of sophists is mentioned.<sup>8</sup> Probably such a contest involved a display of the oratorical powers of the competitors. These oratorical contests became more frequent in later times. Individual contests were followed by the choral ones. In the case of festivals, mostly those in honor of Dionysus, which included dramatic performances, these held the last place, probably on a separate day from the other events.

Many were the festivals throughout Greece on whose programs musical contests had a place. One of the earliest was certainly the Delian festival which has been discussed. Another festival of Apollo, that at Delphi, was also established early. The earliest contest at Delphi was said to have been one of citharodes singing hymns to the gods. This competition was established at

<sup>1</sup>Thuc. iii. 104. 3. Cf. M. P. Nilsson, Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 243 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. iv. 25.

<sup>3</sup>Macrobius Saturnalia v. 22. 4. Cf. Timotheus fr. 1 D.

<sup>4</sup>Thuc., loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup>J. Frei, De Certaminibus Thymelicis (Basel, 1900), gives a list of the various kinds of literary and musical contests with a brief history of each.

<sup>6</sup>Ath. xv. 699a; ix. 407a.

<sup>7</sup>Poetics ii, 1448 a 12.

<sup>8</sup>IG, VII, 414.



an unknown date and perhaps had been in existence for two or three centuries before the reorganization of the games by the Amphictyonic league after the Crisean war.<sup>1</sup> Thereafter Pythiads were counted from the year 582. The new festival was held every fourth year instead of every eighth as had previously been the case. It included gymnastic games and horse racing besides the musical program whose scope had been increased by the addition of flutists, citharists, and citharodes.<sup>2</sup>

The importance of Delphi in the encouragement of literature was not confined to the contests at the Pythian games. Apollo, the god of music and the source of poetic inspiration, would be expected to extend his protection to the race of singers. Plutarch says that he did not drive the Muse away from the tripod but rather invited her and was the source of inspiration for poetic fantasies.<sup>3</sup> Among the adornments of the temple was a statue of Homer. The poet Archilochus was killed in battle and it was said that when his slayer came to Delphi the Pythia refused to receive him because of his deed. He begged for pity because the deed was due to the fortunes of war and not to intention and he was allowed to go to Taenarum for purification.<sup>4</sup> Pindar, who had written paeans for the Pythian god,<sup>5</sup> was especially honored at his shrine. To him was allowed a share in the offerings brought to the god, and he was extended a special invitation to the sacrificial feasts, a privilege which was retained by his descendants.<sup>6</sup> The iron chair on which Pindar sat and sang when he visited Delphi was carefully preserved at the shrine.<sup>7</sup> There must have been other incidents of a similar sort arising out of a desire to protect and encourage men of letters. What is known is sufficient to indicate that a policy definitely favorable to literature was pursued at Delphi. In return poets and philosophers listened with reverence to the oracle.<sup>8</sup>

During the classical period no musical contests were included in the programs of the Isthmian and Nemean games but dur-

<sup>1</sup>Paus. x. 7. 2; Strabo ix. 3. 10.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Stengel, op. cit., pp. 213 ff.; E. N. Gardiner, Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals (London, 1910), pp. 208 f.

<sup>3</sup>Mor. 406c, d.

<sup>4</sup>Suidas, Archilochus.

<sup>5</sup>Paeon vi. Cf. Ox. Pap., V, #841.

<sup>6</sup>Paus. ix. 23. 3; Plut. Mor. 557f; Eustathius Vita Pind. 27 (Script. Gr., p. 92).

<sup>7</sup>Paus. x. 24. 5.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. F. Poulsen, Delphi, trans. G. C. Richards (London, 1920), pp. 27 ff.

ing the Roman period such competition seems to have been added.<sup>1</sup> At Olympia musical events never were a part of the regular procedure.<sup>2</sup> Aside from the musical contests the great games had an important role in the encouragement of lyric poets. At first victors were greeted by the "Hail the Conquering Hero Comes"--τῆ-νελλα καλλίνικε--of Archilochus but it soon became customary for victories to be celebrated by the singing of choral odes, a custom which was responsible for the great choral odes of Pindar and Bacchylides. Other poets also wrote epinician odes but only fragments have been preserved. The ordering of an epinician ode did not necessarily indicate an interest in literature on the part of the victor but only his desire to have the victory celebrated in the proper manner.<sup>3</sup> The great national games provided the occasion and the incentive for the epinician ode. These poems had a fairly definite plan. They sang the praises of the victor and extolled the victory. Then usually a myth followed, elaborated in more or less detail according to the length of the ode. At the close the poet returned to the victor and offered a prayer for his continued good fortune. Often some moralizing was included with a warning to the fortunate man not to try to fly too high. The writing of epinician odes was not only a very profitable employment but it also served to spread the poet's name far and wide. Some odes were sung immediately after the victory and were heard by persons from all over Greece. Others were sung at the victor's home and the poet who had composed a pleasing ode would win fame there.<sup>4</sup> The larger the audience the better for the poet who made his living by the practice of his art.

Still another service to literature was performed by the Olympic games and perhaps also by the other great national festivals. To witness the games men came from all parts of the Greek world. The audience gathered at Olympia was the largest and most representative one that could be found anywhere in Greece. An author who could present his works before such an audience would gain a wide-spread reputation.<sup>5</sup> Herodotus is said to have made his name known all over Greece by reading parts of his history before the Olympic spectators.<sup>6</sup> It became usual for poems to be recited and orations to be delivered before this Olympic assembly,

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<sup>1</sup>Stengel, op. cit., pp. 216, 217.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 212. Nero did hold a musical contest at Olympia on one occasion.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. supra, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Smyth, op. cit., pp. lxxxv f.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Stengel, op. cit., p. 212.

<sup>6</sup>Lucian Herodotus 1 ff.

whose members, when they returned home, praised the performers who had pleased them. Dionysius of Syracuse sent a retinue to Olympia to recite his compositions at the assembly. He met with no success because of the enmity with which he was regarded by the Greeks,<sup>1</sup> but undoubtedly other poets were heard with pleasure by the spectators. Famous orators also addressed the company. Their favorite theme seems to have been to urge that the Greeks should forget their quarrels at home and unite against the Persian foe. Gorgias of Leontini delivered such an oration, urging union against the barbarians. He also delivered a similar oration at the Pythian games.<sup>2</sup> Hippias, too, charmed the Olympic assembly by his speeches.<sup>3</sup> Lysias delivered an oration urging action against Dionysius.<sup>4</sup> The Panegyricus of Isocrates, another plea for united action against the common foe--in this case Philip was written in the form of an oration addressed to the Olympic crowd. Many authors must have taken advantage of the opportunity afforded by this assemblage. The crowd was undoubtedly eager to know what new poet might recite his verses or what orator might delight their ears in the interludes of the games. This opportunity for the presentation of literary works at Olympia is another indication of the interest that the Greeks always felt in literary matters. Had such an interest not been strong certainly orators and poets could not have appeared before the throng in holiday mood at Olympia and expected to be heard. This intellectual interest of the Greeks is evident even in the Homeric period<sup>5</sup> and reached its highest development in fifth century Athens.<sup>6</sup>

In Athens the most important festivals from a literary point of view were the Lenaea and the Greater Dionysia at which dramas were presented.<sup>7</sup> At the Dionysia there were also performances of cyclic choruses.<sup>8</sup> At the Panathenaea one of the most important events was the recitation of the Homeric poems,<sup>9</sup> but there were also citharodes,<sup>10</sup> as well as cyclic choruses and pyrrhic dances.<sup>11</sup> The Thargelia, Hephestia, and Promethia were other

<sup>1</sup>Cf. supra, pp. 44 f.

<sup>2</sup>Philostratus Vitae Sophistarum i. 9. 2; Aristot. Rhet. iii. 14. 2, 1414 b 31.

<sup>3</sup>Philostratus, op. cit., i. 11. 2.

<sup>4</sup>Lysias Or. xxxiii. Cf. Plut. Mor. 836d.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. supra, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. infra, chap. vi.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. infra, pp. 99 ff. for the drama and its arrangements.

<sup>8</sup>Lysias xxi. 2; Ps.-Xen. Ath. Rep. iii. 4; CIA, II, 553.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. supra, p. 26.

<sup>10</sup>Schol. Aristoph. Clouds 971.

<sup>11</sup>Lysias xxi. 1, 2; Ps.-Xen., loc. cit. Cf. Mommsen,

Feste der Stadt Athen, pp. 61 ff., 98.

Athenian festivals which were adorned with the performances of cyclic choruses.<sup>1</sup> Some sort of a competition connected with comedy is reported to have been established at the feast of the χύτροι by the orator Lysurgus, who was active in the latter half of the fourth century. There is no other evidence of dramatic competition on this day and it is possible that the event was some sort of a contest among comic actors.<sup>2</sup> Besides the festivals in the city the rural Dionysia was celebrated in the demes and at some of these celebrations, if not at all of them, dramas were presented. The plays presented were probably ones which had already been produced in the city, although there is some evidence of a new play of Euripides having been given at the Peiraeus.<sup>3</sup> It was very seldom that a play was presented more than once at a city festival so that the rural festivals provided the only opportunity for a second view of an interesting play.<sup>4</sup>

In other parts of Greece festivals which included musical events were frequent. The Spartan festivals which were celebrated with musical games will be discussed later.<sup>5</sup> Pausanias reported a Messenian festival called the Ithomea which he believed to be very ancient. Part of its program was devoted to musical events.<sup>6</sup> At Hermione an annual musical contest in honor of Dionysus Melanaegis took place.<sup>7</sup> The Asclepieia at Epidaurus was a favorite resort of rhapsodists.<sup>8</sup> On the island of Paros Archilochus won a prize in a contest for a hymn in honor of Demeter for a festival probably the local Thesmophoria. It was in celebration of this victory of his own that the poet wrote the song beginning τήνελλα ὦ καλλίνικε which was often sung at Olympia when a victor was announced.<sup>9</sup> At Thebes a festival called the Cronia was mentioned as having included musical competition.<sup>10</sup> The Amphiaraea at Oropus before 338 had a varied program of musical events. Apparently after Oropus had come into the possession of Athens after the battle of Chaeronea the Athenians reorganized the festival and the musical events were omitted.<sup>11</sup> The most important Euboean festival was the Artemisia held at Eretria in honor of the island's

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<sup>1</sup>CIA, II, 553; Ps.-Xen., loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup>Mommsen, op. cit., p. 401. Cf. supra, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup>Ael. V. H. II. 13. Aelian's authority is not unquestionable. Cf. A. E. Haigh, The Attic Theatre (3rd ed.; Oxford, 1907), pp. 29 ff. for an account of the rural Dionysia.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. infra, pp. 85 f.

<sup>6</sup>iv. 33. 2.

<sup>7</sup>Paus. II. 35. 1.

<sup>8</sup>Plato Ion 530 A.

<sup>9</sup>Schol. Aristoph. Birds 1764.

<sup>10</sup>Ps.-Plut. De Vita et Poesi Homeri I. 4.

<sup>11</sup>IG, VII, 414. Cf. Bethe, "Amphiaraea," Pauly-Wissowa.



patron goddess. The musical program included contests for rhapsodists, aulodes, citharists, citharodes, and parodists.<sup>1</sup> There is evidence of musical competition at other festivals at a later date. These may have been in many cases contests which were established at a much earlier time. No doubt many of the festivals of whose programs there is no definite information included musical events.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of individual performances, such as rhapsodists, citharodes, and the like, the performer, who in the case of the presentation of a new poem was probably the poet, was regarded as the victor and to him went the reward, which in some instances was a wreath of no intrinsic value and in others was a gold crown or a monetary prize.<sup>3</sup> In the case of choral competition the victory belonged to the chorus or to the tribe or other body which was represented by that chorus. The poet was no doubt paid for his services and if the chorus was successful probably received other honors from the group for which he had worked. Besides this his reputation was increased. In Athens cyclic choruses were provided by the tribes, in the case of the Thargelia by two tribes working together. The poets seem to have been chosen by the choregi by lot.<sup>4</sup> No information is available which indicates how the poets to be chosen were assembled. Perhaps certain well-known poets were commissioned by the officials to produce lyrics for the occasion or perhaps the poets who desired to compete presented their work for approval. In any case the choregus who drew the first choice was fortunate in being able to select the poet whose poem he considered most likely of success. Another possibility is that the choregi were allowed to name the poets whom they wished to have compose poems for them.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>IG, XII, ix, 189. Cf. Stengel, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. E. Reisch, *De Musicis Graecorum Certaminibus* (Vienna, 1885), for a discussion of the festivals with musical programs both during the classical period and later.

<sup>3</sup>IG, XII, ix, 189 lists the money prizes given at the Eretrian Artemisia.

<sup>4</sup>Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy*, pp. 51 ff. Cf. Aristoph. *Birds* 1403 f., Kinesias, a dithyrambic poet, speaking:

ταυτὶ πεποίηκας τὸν κυκλιοῖδ' ὁδ' ἀσκαλον,  
ὅς ταῖσι φυλαῖς περιμάχητός εἰμ' αἰεῖ;

<sup>5</sup>Cf. *infra*, pp. 101 ff. for the manner in which poets were selected for tragedy and the factors influencing the choice. For tragedy the poets were chosen by the state. Perhaps also for other contests the original selection was made by the state.

The services of religion in the encouragement of literature were not only in providing the subject matter and form of much of the poetry that was written but perhaps most important of all in providing the chief opportunities which were available to Greek authors for the presentation of their works. At contests they had a chance to win rewards as well as to win a reputation which would spread far and wide. Without the opportunities of the religious festival which gathered together large audiences the Greek poet, without the facilities of books and readers, would have had some difficulty in becoming known. Perhaps this support lent by religion was more important than any other factor in the encouragement of Greek literature.

## CHAPTER V

### THE SPARTAN ATTITUDE TOWARD LITERATURE

The paradox of Sparta is no less perplexing in the sphere of literature than in any other realm. One is apt to picture a city which had never given literary genius a thought. But a little reflection calls to mind names such as those of Terpander, Alcman, Tyrtaeus, men whose careers centered at Lacedaemon. Perhaps the literary history of Sparta may be divided into two periods. During the early one arts and literature were regarded with favor and reached a high stage of development in comparison with the rest of Greece in the same age. The later period, corresponding to the time during which literary development reached its peak at Athens, was a time when many of the ancient references to Sparta, all from the pens of non-Spartans, suggest that all things literary suffered a complete eclipse in Lacedaemon and that Sparta was, at least in the eyes of the rest of Hellas, nothing more than a rude military encampment.

The first figure encountered in the history of literary encouragement at Sparta is that of the legendary law-giver, Lycurgus, who perhaps lived not long after the Homeric era. It is impossible to provide Lycurgus with a date more than roughly approximate or even to assert with conviction that he was more than a mythical figure to whom accrued all the tales relating to the creation of the Spartan system.<sup>1</sup> Lycurgus was connected by legend with the Cretan poet Thaletas, whom he met on his visit to Crete. There he prevailed on the poet to come to Sparta and by his poetry to pave the way for Lycurgus' projected legislation. By the charms of music Thaletas was to win the favor of the people toward the new regime without their realizing that they were being persuaded.<sup>2</sup> In the treatise on music ascribed to Plutarch, however, Thaletas is named as one of the members of the second *κατάστασις* at Sparta and is cited as later than Archilochus on the authority

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. V. Ehrenberg, Neugründer des Staates (Munich, 1925), pp. 7 ff. for a discussion of Lycurgus.

<sup>2</sup>Plut. Lycurgus iv. 2.

of Glaucus.<sup>1</sup> If this chronology is accepted, and presumably it should be, Thaletas belonged to the end of the seventh century and his supposed association with Lycurgus is invalidated.

Tradition assigned a further relationship with literature to the legislator. It was reported that from Crete Lycurgus sailed to Ionia where he became familiar with the Homeric epics,<sup>2</sup> according to one version of the story meeting Homer himself in Chios.<sup>3</sup> On his return to Sparta he brought with him the Homeric poems and first introduced them to the Peloponnese,<sup>4</sup> or according to another authority to the whole of Greece.<sup>5</sup> Such a tradition arose from the fact that the Homeric poems did spread westward from Ionia to Greece proper.<sup>6</sup> The ascription of their introduction to Lycurgus suggests that they were known in Lacedaemon very early, and the early importance of Sparta in the field of literature supports this theory. According to Maximus of Tyre it was late when rhapsodists were first heard in Sparta, and late too when they first came to Crete.<sup>7</sup> A statement of this kind found in a late rhetorician may be passed over lightly, since it is merely a reflection of the current notions of the backwardness of the Spartans in every field of endeavor, including literature, and presumably has a foundation in no trustworthy source.

Representative of the πρώτη καὶ ἀρχαία, or first school of poetry in Sparta, was the Lesbian Terpander,<sup>8</sup> who, according to Hellanicus, won the prize for citharodists at the first Carneia in 676.<sup>9</sup> There was a legend that Terpander was first summoned to Sparta, on the advice of the Pythian oracle, to quell a revolution. Under the spell of his singing the discordant citizens embraced with tears and once more harmony reigned in the city on the banks of the Eurotas.<sup>10</sup> Practically nothing remains which

<sup>1</sup>Plut. De Mus. 1134b, d. Glaucus of Rhegium (fl. 400 B.C.) wrote a treatise περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν καὶ μουσικῶν and is regarded as a fairly trustworthy source. Cf. Jacoby, "Glaukos von Rhegium," P.-W. Cf. R. Volkmann, Plutarchi De Musica (Leipzig, 1856), pp. 92 f.

<sup>2</sup>Plut. Lyc. iv. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Strabo x. 4. 19.

<sup>4</sup>Herac. Pont. Pol. 11. 3.

<sup>5</sup>Ael. V. H. xiii. 14; Dio Chrys. Or. 11. 45.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Allen, Homer, Origins and Transmissions, p. 228.

<sup>7</sup>xvii. 5.

<sup>8</sup>Plut. De Mus. 1134b.

<sup>9</sup>Ath. xiv. 635e.

<sup>10</sup>Diod. viii. 28; Zenobius v. 9; Plut. De Mus. 1146b; Herac. Pont. Pol. 11. 6; P. A. 11. 111 ff.; Schol. Od. 111. 267; Schol. Aristides xlv. 185 (III, 592, ed. Dindorf). There seems to be no adequate reason for discarding this story. Cf. Schmid-Stählin, op. cit., I, Band I, 404 ff.



can be attributed with certainty to Terpander, but his work consisted principally of nomos, hymns in honor of the gods sung by one person who accompanied himself on the lyre. Proemia and scolia were also mentioned among the compositions of Terpander. The esteem with which he was regarded by the Spartans is shown by the proverb μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν, indicating something second best. Two explanations of its origin were given, either that Lesbian bards, because of their association with the birthplace of Terpander, were given precedence at contests, or that those who were to sing nomos of Terpander were allowed the privilege of giving the first performances.<sup>1</sup> The former suggestion is supported by a passage of the Plutarchian *De Musica* which names a certain Pericleitus, cited as preceding Hipponax (fl. 540), as the last Lesbian citharode to win a victory at the Carneia.<sup>2</sup> The obvious inference is that for a period of about a century from the time of Terpander Lesbian citharodes took a successful part in the Spartan festivals and were treated with honor by the Lacedaemonians.

Tyrtaeus probably also belonged to the seventh century, to the period commonly assigned to the second Messenian war.<sup>3</sup> There was a widespread tradition that Tyrtaeus was an Athenian sent to Sparta in answer to the Spartans' request, made on the advice of the Delphic oracle, that they might have a leader for their war against the threatening Messenians.<sup>4</sup> Tyrtaeus wrote

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<sup>1</sup>Zen. v. 9; Bod. MSS 627; Aristotle *fr.* 87 (F. H. G., II, 130).

<sup>2</sup>1133c.

<sup>3</sup>Verrall has attempted to prove from Lycurgus (*In Leoc.* 102 ff.) that Tyrtaeus did not belong to this early period but lived during the fifth century and should be associated with the Messenian war of c. 460 when their Athenian allies were abruptly sent home by the Spartans (Thuc. i. 102). Most scholars prefer the traditional date for his activity. For Verrall's arguments cf. "Tyrtaeus: a Graeco-Roman Tradition," *Classical Review*, X (1896), 269 ff. and "The Date of Tyrtaeus," *CR*, XI (1897), 185 ff. For references to other discussions on the date of Tyrtaeus cf. H. Pistelli, "De Recentiorum Studiis in Tyrtaeum Collatis," *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, IX (1901), 435, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup>Lycurgus *In Leoc.* 106 f.; Plato *Laws* i. 629 A; Diod. viii. 27; Strabo viii. 4. 10; Justin. *Hist.* iii. 5. The lame school-master version first appears in Paus. iv. 15. 6. Cf. Schol. Plato, *loc. cit.* Whether Tyrtaeus was actually an Athenian or all the stories are mere inventions, probably Athenian attempts at belittling Sparta and perhaps arising out of spite because of the curt dismissal of Athenian allies sent to assist in the third

martial elegies which aroused the spirits of the Lacedaemonians, who had been cowed by disaster, and urged them on to victory over their foes. He sang of patriotism and the nobility of dying for one's country in the forefront of battle. He was treated with honor both in his own time and by later generations. According to Philochorus it was the custom at feasts for those present to sing elegies of Tyrtaeus in turn, with a choice cut of meat as the prize for the best rendition.<sup>1</sup> These elegies seem early to have become one of the school books of Sparta, helping to inculcate in the young the desirable qualities of valor and patriotism. The hearts of the youths were stirred with enthusiasm so that they did not spare themselves in hours of peril.<sup>2</sup>

About this same time the literary prestige of Sparta was further enhanced by the activities of Alcman, one of the founders of choral lyric. A passage of one of his choral songs addressed by the chorus to their leader leaves no doubt that the poet did come from Sardis:

οὐκ ἦς ἀνὴρ ἄγροικος οὐδέ  
σκαιὸς οὐδέ παρὰ σοφοῖσιν  
οὐδέ Θεσσαλὸς γένος  
οὐδ' Ἑρυσίχαϊος οὐδέ ποιμὴν,  
ἀλλὰ Ζαρδίων ἀπ' Ἀκρῶν.<sup>3</sup>

How Alcman came to Sparta from Lydia is unknown. No story is told of his having been summoned for a particular purpose, as were so many others of the poets who lived in Lacedaemon. Tradi-

Messenian war, can not be determined. It is not surprising to find a foreign poet inspiring the Spartan armies in the seventh century, but it is somewhat startling that that poet should come from Athens at a time when Athens had as yet, as far as is known, produced nothing at all in the way of literature. Suidas reports that Tyrtaeus was either a Laconian or a Milesian. There are no particular objections, except the presence of the wide-spread tradition of his Athenian origin, to considering that Tyrtaeus may have come from Miletus. Cf. Schmid-Stählin, op. cit., I, Band I, 357 ff.

<sup>1</sup>Ath. xiv. 630 f.

<sup>2</sup>Lycurgus, loc. cit.; Plut. Cleomenes ii. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Fr. 13 D. According to Suidas Alcman was a Laconian from Messoa and the story which made Sardis his birthplace was an error. G. S. Farnell (Greek Lyric Poets [London, 1891], p. 124) points out that these apparently opposing views may be reconciled by supposing that when Alcman was made a Lacedaemonian citizen Messoa was the district with which he was associated. Cf. Bowra, Gr. Lyr. Poetry, pp. 16 ff.

tion made him the slave of a Lacedaemonian, Agesidas. Because of his noble nature (εὐφυΐς) he was freed and became a poet.<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, after having seen a monument to Alcman in Sparta, remarked that the beauty of his poetry was not diminished despite the fact that he used the Lacedaemonian tongue, the least euphonic of the Greek dialects.<sup>2</sup> The poetry of Alcman was, as far as is known, almost entirely partheneia, choral lyrics designed to be sung by bands of maidens at religious festivals. The use of myth was frequent and personalities about the members of the chorus and the poet often occurred. Among the fragments are hymns to various divinities, the Dioscuri, Apollo, Dionysus, Artemis, Aphrodite, Athena. A moralizing element is present, but the practical strain, aimed at arousing patriotism and similar virtues, found so frequently in poetry written for the Spartans, seems to have been absent. Alcman's tone is often playful. Sometimes he reached poetic heights.

In the half century between 625 and 575 the group of poets named as leaders of the δευτέραι κατὰστασις were adding to the luster of Sparta as a literary center. Among the poets of this period were Thaletas of Crete, Xenodamus of Cythera, Xenocritus of Epizephyrian Locri, Polymnestus of Colophon, and Sacadas of Argos.<sup>3</sup> Thaletas has been mentioned above in connection with Lycurgus, but it is probably here rather than in the dim age of the law giver that he belongs. According to the accepted tradition Thaletas was summoned to Sparta in accordance with an oracle in order to allay a pestilence and purify the land,<sup>4</sup> or to quell a revolution.<sup>5</sup> Music seems always to have been regarded in antiquity as possessed of soothing and purificatory powers. Polymnestus must have been somewhat younger than Thaletas since it is reported that he was delegated to write a poem in honor of the Cretan.<sup>6</sup> With regard to the other poets mentioned and also concerning Nymphaeus of Cydonia<sup>7</sup> little is known beside the fact that they were foreigners who came to Sparta, either on invitation or attracted by the honor accorded to literary efforts by the Lacedaemonians, and made that city the scene of their poetic endeavors.

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<sup>1</sup>Herac. Pont. Pol. ii. 2.

<sup>2</sup>iii. 15. 2.

<sup>3</sup>Plut. De Mus. 1134b.

<sup>4</sup>Paus. i. 14. 4; Plut. De Mus. 1146c; Philodemus De Mus., p. 85, ed. Kemke.

<sup>5</sup>Plut. Mor. 779a.

<sup>6</sup>Paus., loc. cit. Cf. Schmid-Stählin, op. cit., I, Band I, 429 f.

<sup>7</sup>Aelian V. H. xii. 50.

The names of a few poets of Lacedaemonian birth have been preserved, but no fragments of their works and almost no information as to the nature of their poetry has come down to us. Spondon is named by Plutarch, in the company of Terpander and Alcman, as one of the poets whose lyrics the Helots were not permitted to sing.<sup>1</sup> At the Gymnopaediae the paeans of Dionysodotus were sung.<sup>2</sup> A most versatile man was the Spartan Gitiadas, architect of the temple of Athena of the Brazen House and the artist of the bronze statue of the goddess which adorned that temple, who besides being architect and sculptor also wrote Dorian songs, including a hymn to the goddess Athena.<sup>3</sup>

A few other literary men who paid visits to Sparta may be mentioned. Archilochus was said to have been at Sparta at some time during his career, lured perhaps by its fame as a city which gave encouragement to the poetic art. But the poet who had thrown away his shield in battle and not blushed to tell the tale in verse met with a cold reception from the Lacedaemonians, who returned from battle with their shields or on them. Whether because he was regarded as a corrupting influence, or for some other reason, he was requested to leave and to entertain no thoughts of coming back.<sup>4</sup> Theognis according to his own report was something of a globe trotter. Travels which took him to Sicily and Euboea brought him to Sparta, "the glorious city by the reed-nourishing Eurotas." Everywhere that he went he was welcomed and treated with hospitality.<sup>5</sup> Bacchylides wrote a choral lyric for the Lacedaemonians.<sup>6</sup> This song apparently told the story of Idas bringing home Marpessa and was no doubt sung at some Spartan festival. Tradition reports that Bacchylides was exiled and lived for some time in the Peloponnese.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps some of that time was spent in Sparta. At the beginning of the fifth century, then, Sparta was not yet the stranger-hating, culture-despising city which, according to the common tradition at least, it had become by the end of that century.

In Sparta, as everywhere else in Greece, religion can not

<sup>1</sup>Lyc. xxviii. 9, 10. The Helots were forced to drink unmixed wine and to sing songs ἀγεννεῖς καὶ καταγελάστους in order that the youths might see what was unbecoming to a free man and avoid it.

<sup>2</sup>Ath. xv. 678c.

<sup>3</sup>Paus. iii. 17. 2.

<sup>4</sup>Plut. Mor. 239b.

<sup>5</sup>Theog. 783 ff. Cf. supra, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup>Ode xix.

<sup>7</sup>Plut. Mor. 605d. Cf. Jebb, Bacchylides, p. 26.



be ignored as an agency for the encouragement of literature.<sup>1</sup> The festivals provided an outlet for poetic expression of various kinds, hymns, choral lyrics, dramatic poetry. Of the Spartan festivals the Carneia, said to have been founded in 676, has already been mentioned in connection with Terpander. In a choral passage of the Alcestis the heroine is told that her story will become a theme for poets and be sung at the Spartan Carneia.<sup>2</sup> Exceestides was reported to have won citharodic victories at the Pythian games, the Panathenaea, and the Carneia in Lacedaemon.<sup>3</sup> This was a festival of Apollo held in the early autumn, of which one of the chief features was the musical competition, comprising a contest of citharodes and perhaps of other forms of the musical art. The passage of the Alcestis seems to indicate that the subjects of the songs were mythical, often stories connected with Apollo. Toward the close of the fifth century, judging by the remarks of Euripides and the participation of Exceestides, the Carneia was still splendid and attracted foreign musicians to its competitions.

At the Gymnopaediae also there was an opportunity for the display of poetic genius. It was said that the group of artists referred to as the second κατάστασις was responsible for the establishment of musical competitions at this festival.<sup>4</sup> Choruses of boys and men danced naked and sang the songs of Thaletas and Alcman and the paeans of Dionysodotus the Laconian.<sup>5</sup> The celebration included hymns in honor of the heroes who had given their lives at Thyrea,<sup>6</sup> and paeans to Apollo sung by boys.<sup>7</sup>

The Hyacinthia at Amyclae was also celebrated with choral singing. Paeans were sung and choruses of young men danced to the accompaniment of the flute and the rendering of ἐπιχώρια ποιήμα-

<sup>1</sup>Cf. supra, pp. 70 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Eur. Alc. 445 ff. Cf. Stengel, op. cit., pp. 252 f.

<sup>3</sup>Schol. Aristoph. Birds 11. Exceestides was ridiculed by Aristophanes (Birds 11, 764) as a Carian slave who got his name placed on the Athenian citizen rolls by hook or crook.

<sup>4</sup>Plut. De Mus. 1134c.

<sup>5</sup>Ath. xv. 678c. Cf. Stengel, op. cit., p. 253.

<sup>6</sup>Ath. loc. cit.; Suidas, Γυμνοπαΐδία.

<sup>7</sup>Et. Magnum, Γυμνοπαΐδία; Bekker, Anec. Gr., I, 234. It is said that the news of the disaster of Leuctra reached Sparta while the Gymnopaediae was in progress and the men's choruses were about to compete. However the contest was continued and the people were instructed not to give way to lamentation. Cf. Xen. Hell. vi. 4. 16; Plut. Agésilaos xxix. 3 f.

τα.<sup>1</sup> A Laconian Eleusinia in honor of Demeter is said to have included an ἀγὼν θυμελικός,<sup>2</sup> which term seems usually to include all musical, or literary, competitions, with the exception of the drama. There is nothing to indicate much encouragement of the drama at Sparta, except a tradition of a rude sort of comedy in which there was imitation, in everyday language, of someone stealing fruit or a foreign physician.<sup>3</sup> Other Spartan festivals may have provided outlets for literary production but there is no information with regard to them. The occasions for the performances of the choruses of maidens who sang the lyrics of Alcman must have been religious festivals. These festivals, as did others throughout Greece, attracted poets to take part in the competitions and to write hymns and paeans which would increase the splendor and interest of the occasion. Often works of earlier periods may have been used but no doubt there was always an opportunity for a new poet if he did not depart too markedly from traditional forms.

Further information as to the Spartan attitude toward literature is gleaned from brief notices found in Greek writers of all periods. There is the utmost variance in the opinions on Sparta. Some suggest a city far from oblivious to the charms of the Muses. Others picture a city whose inhabitants were more uncultured than barbarians.

Lines attributed to Terpander suggest a Muse-loving city and one not as averse to innovation as is usually supposed:

ἐνθ' αἶχμά τε νέων θάλλει καὶ μῦσα λίγεια  
καὶ δίκαια εὐρυάγυια, καλῶν ἐπιτάρροθος ἔργων.  
σοὶ δ' ἡμεῖς τετράγηρον ἀποστέραντες δοιδάν  
ἐπατόνῳ φόρμῳ γιγνέουσι κελαδήσομεν ὕμνους.<sup>4</sup>

Yet Plutarch, speaking of the Spartan conservatism in music, relates that even Terpander was censured for his improvement of the lyre.<sup>5</sup> At a later period Spartan officials are said to have intervened on at least two occasions to prevent undesirable changes in music. Timotheus, a Milesian poet of the early fourth century, himself tells how he was driven out of Sparta because he "dishon-

<sup>1</sup>Ath. iv. 139e; Xen. Hell. iv. 5. 11; Xen. Agésilaos ii. 17. Cf. Stengel, op. cit., pp. 251 f.

<sup>2</sup>Hesychius, Ἐλευσίνια.

<sup>3</sup>Ath. xiv. 621d, ἐμίμειτο γὰρ τις ἐν εὐτελεῖ τῇ λέξει κλέπτονάς τινας ὁπώραν ἢ ξενικὸν ἰατρόν. Cf. Norwood, Greek Comedy, pp. 72 f.

<sup>4</sup>Fr. 4 D.

<sup>5</sup>Plut. Mor. 238c.

ored the elder Muse by singing new strains."<sup>1</sup> Besides Timotheus another musician of the new school, Phrynis, who was ridiculed even in Athens,<sup>2</sup> suffered chastisement at the hands of the ephors.<sup>3</sup> Although the personal reference to Timotheus is proof incontrovertible of the Spartan hostility to innovation and anything that seemed in Spartan eyes corruption of old standards, still it should be noted that Timotheus, a foreign poet, was able, at the beginning of the fourth century, to enter a Spartan contest. It indicates not only that the Spartans did not rigidly exclude foreigners from their festivals but even that there must have been some incentive, some interest in literature on the part of the Lacedaemonians, to induce a poet of prominence to display his art there.

Pindar was an admirer of Lacedaemon. It did not seem to him a Museless waste, but rather he describes it:

ἔνθα βουλαὶ μὲν γερόντων  
καὶ νέων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεύουσιν αἶχμαί,  
καὶ χοροὶ καὶ μοῖσα καὶ Ἀγλαΐα.<sup>4</sup>

It was even said that the Lacedaemonians cherished music above all the other Greeks and that the poets who dwelt among them were many.<sup>5</sup>

The practical note was often emphasized in discussions of the Spartan attitude toward music. They paid particular attention to musical education because they realized the inspiring effect of songs such as those of Tyrtaeus on the people and they perceived the inadequacy of prose for the expression of lofty sentiments or for character building. μουσικωτάτους γὰρ ἄμα καὶ

<sup>1</sup>Persae 219 ff. Perhaps these other lines of Timotheus (fr. 7 D):

οὐκ αἰδέω τὰ παλαιά  
καινὰ γὰρ ἄμὰ κρείσσω.  
νέος δὲ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει,  
τὸ πάλαι δ' ἦν Κρόνος ἄρχων.

are by way of defense--or defiance. For further references to this incident cf. Paus. iii. 12. 10; Plut. Agis x. 7; Mor. 238c; Dio Chrys. xxxiii. 57. Ath. xiv. 636e reports that Timotheus got off by pointing out a statue of Apollo holding an eleven stringed lyre. Cf. Christ, Gr. Lit. Ges., I, 252 f.

<sup>2</sup>Aristoph. Clouds 971.

<sup>3</sup>Plut. Agis x. 7; Mor. 84a, 220c. Dio Chrys. xxxii. 67 does not name the unfortunate poet. According to Plut. De Mus. 1144f the Argives fined a musician for using a lyre with more than seven strings.

<sup>4</sup>Fr. 199 Schr.

<sup>5</sup>Ath. xiv. 632f.

πολεμικωτάτους ἀποφαίνουσιν αὐτούς.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of poetry was regarded as the praise of those living nobly and dying for their country and the censure of cowards and those living a κακοδαίμονα βίον.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle, in speaking of the place of music in education, suggested that an effort should be made to teach people to be able to appreciate and criticize music rather than to be able to produce it themselves. This was the case with the Lacedaemonians who, without having studied music, nevertheless were able to judge correctly τὰ χρηστὰ καὶ τὰ μὴ χρηστὰ τῶν μελῶν.<sup>3</sup>

Other writers were not so sure of the interest of the Spartans in literature. The remark of Thucydides with regard to Brasidas, that he was not unskilled in speaking spite of being a Lacedaemonian, shows that the Lacedaemonians were regarded as having no interest in education, especially with regard to oratorical training.<sup>4</sup> Isocrates would convict them of complete ignorance. They are worse than the barbarians and so indifferent to learning that they do not even learn the alphabet and so are deprived of knowing what is going on in the world and what has been done.<sup>5</sup> This is the most scathing condemnation of the Spartan attitude which has been preserved; but it is obviously unfair, an effort to emphasize the contrast between Athens and Sparta as strongly as possible. According to Plutarch the Spartans acquired a smattering of reading and writing because of necessity and devoted the rest of their education to learning how to obey and how to conquer in battle.<sup>6</sup> Pausanias believed that the Spartans of all men were the least appreciative of poetry and poetic praise and adduced as proof that there existed only an epigram about Cyniscas and the lines concerning Pausanias on the tripod dedicated at Delphi, but besides this no word of praise of a Spartan king by any poet.<sup>7</sup> According to Aelian the Lacedaemonians were entirely without experience or interest in music and cared only for arms. But, he continues, if they ever had need of the aid of music, for its therapeutic powers, they called in foreign poets, as for instance Terpander and Thaletas.<sup>8</sup>

In the early literary history of Sparta nothing can be found which justifies a belief that Sparta was always uninterested

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<sup>1</sup>Plut. Lyc. xxi.

<sup>2</sup>Plut. Mor. 238a.

<sup>3</sup>Pol. v. 5, p. 1339 b 2. Cf. Ath. xiv. 628b.

<sup>4</sup>Iv. 84. 2.

<sup>5</sup>Panathenaecus 208 f.

<sup>6</sup>Lyc. xvi. 10.

<sup>7</sup>Iii. 8. 2. However there was the Spartan admiral, Lysander, who gathered a group of poets about him to sing his praises. Paeans were sung in his honor by the Samians. Cf. supra, pp. 67 f.

<sup>8</sup>v. H. xii. 50.



in literature. On the contrary during the seventh and sixth centuries, when perhaps Sparta had not become as rigidly militaristic as she did in later days, the city was a center of literary endeavor. At a time when Athens had not yet displayed any interest in such things Sparta took the lead in the field of literature. Poets from all parts of the Greek world were attracted to Lacedaemon, either by special invitation or else lured by the reputation of the city as a patron of poetic achievement. There was gathered at Sparta a circle of the most illustrious poets of the age, writing marching songs for her armies, arousing the patriotism of her youths, and composing hymns and choral lyrics to make her festivals and religious rites more splendid. To be sure the practical tone in most Spartan poetry can not be disregarded. Legends were connected with most of the poets who lived in Sparta, relating how they were summoned, usually because of an oracle, for some specific purpose, to allay a revolution as were Terpander and Thaletas, or to arouse the flagging courage of the Spartan soldiers, as in the case of Tyrtaeus. Perhaps it is a significant fact that nearly all the literary men prominent in Sparta were foreigners. The names of a few native poets are preserved, but they are nothing but names and probably never attained any fame outside their own community. If the Spartans were unable to produce any great poets of their own they welcomed foreign writers and they had the reputation of being good critics of music. The preponderance of the choral element in the poetry of Sparta is also interesting. So closely bound up with the Lacedaemonians was choral lyric that Doric became the dialect which was regularly used for that kind of verse, whatever the nationality of the poet. No doubt the co-operative organization of life in Sparta made choral music naturally the most appealing to them and caused the more individualistic forms of expression to be largely disregarded.

Sparta was always conservative in literature as in everything else. Innovation was frowned upon. Only in Lacedaemon and Crete, according to a passage in Plato's Laws, was the character of music regulated by law. Elsewhere novelties were introduced to suit a whim, with no regard for law.<sup>1</sup>

If early Sparta was not the culture-hating, stranger-despising city of tradition but rather a city whose citizens delighted in the Muse, a Muse to be sure usually practical but still capable of rising to poetic heights, as in Alcman's lines descriptive of sleeping nature which rival any poetry,<sup>2</sup> what of the Sparta of a later age? Statements have been quoted from authors who maintained that there was not the slightest interest in lit-

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<sup>1</sup>ii. 660b.

<sup>2</sup>Fr. 58 D.

erary affairs in Sparta, but other passages suggest that Sparta has been treated unjustly and was not as completely oblivious to such things as is often supposed. Although after the sixth century she fostered no more men who made a lasting mark in literature, still she did not ignore the charms of music completely. Her festivals still attracted foreigners to their competitions, even though Timotheus met with a cold reception because of his bold innovations in poetry and music and the Spartans always clung to a mantle of conservatism and were loathe to abandon old ways for anything new and untried. Although there was less effort to encourage literature than there had been still the old songs were cherished and the Spartans were certainly not completely disregarding of all things literary.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of some of the ancient views on Sparta and literature and a collection of modern opinions on the subject cf. Preston Epps, "The Place of Sparta in Greek History and Civilization" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Chicago, 1928), chap. xii.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

In fifth century Greece perhaps the most important source of encouragement to literary endeavor and artistic effort of all kinds was that offered by the democracy at Athens. The Athens of this period was an intellectual center that has never been equalled.<sup>1</sup> An impetus was given to all the arts. During the age of Pericles the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, and the Propylaea arose on the Acropolis and the city was beautified in every quarter. Pheidias was engaged upon the great chryselephantine statue of Athena and Polygnotus and Zeuxis were executing paintings for the public buildings. Poets and prose writers found an enthusiastic audience which generously bestowed high honors on those who won approval. Perhaps at no other period in literary history has there been a time when authors looked to the government of a democracy for their surest patronage. Poets and prose writers flocked to Athens, lured by the warm welcome that they were almost sure to receive there. Besides the many foreign artists who were gathered at Athens, she herself produced literary men outstanding in their fields whose work was perhaps the greater because of the encouragement they received from their mother city and the pride they felt in her.

In a city such as Athens in which an intellectual interest was so widespread there must have been numerous groups of men with similar interests who frequently gathered together to discuss politics, literature, and philosophy. Unfortunately, although it is certain that such circles existed, there is very little evidence from which their personnel can be reconstructed. During the middle of the fifth century, when Pericles was at the height of his power, there seems to have been a group of men whose interests were philosophical and artistic to which the statesman belonged. One of the teachers of Pericles was the philosopher Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, nicknamed *Noûs* because of his doctrine of a universe pervaded by Mind. His influence on Pericles is said

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Thuc. ii. 41. 1. Cf. K. J. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte (2nd ed.; Strassburg, 1914), II, Abt. I, 259; Camb. Anc. Hist., V, pp. v ff.

to have been great.<sup>1</sup> Another member of the group was the great sculptor, Pheidias. Aspasia by her wit and brilliance became a leader in this circle. Socrates is said to have talked with her frequently. Plutarch reports that Socrates' friends brought their wives to converse with her,<sup>2</sup> a procedure which must have shocked the staid citizens of Athens who believed that women should be kept in their place, which was certainly not in the company of a lady of doubtful reputation. Perhaps it was in this circle that Herodotus and Sophocles formed their close friendship, one of the fruits of which was an ode addressed to Herodotus by Sophocles.<sup>3</sup> The friends of Pericles, too brilliant for the ordinary conservative mind, gave his enemies a means of attacking the statesman. Pheidias was tried for misappropriation of funds. Acquittal on this charge was followed by a charge of impiety for including figures of himself and Pericles on Athena's shield. According to Plutarch's story he was found guilty on this count and died in prison.<sup>4</sup> Anaxagoras and Aspasia were both accused of impiety. The philosopher retired to Lampsacus but the tears of Pericles procured the release of Aspasia.<sup>5</sup>

During the closing years of the fifth century a familiar sight on the street corners of Athens was Socrates with an eager group about him, a group of all types of men from the young rake Alcibiades to Charmides and Crito and his greatest pupil, Plato, who has made his master's memory immortal.<sup>6</sup> This informal group,

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<sup>1</sup>Plut. Pericles iv, v.                      <sup>2</sup>Ibid., xxiv. 5.

<sup>3</sup>Plut. Mor. 785b. Cf. Jacoby, "Herodotus," Pauly-Wissowa, Supplement II, 232 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Plut. Per. xxxi. The accounts of the life of Pheidias are very confused. According to Philochorus (F. H. G., I, 400, fr. 97) he was exiled from Athens because of embezzlement, went to Olympia, and there was put to death on a similar charge in connection with the statue of Zeus. This is a rather unlikely story, as is also the accusation upon which the impiety charge was said to have been based. Cf. A. Frickenhaus, "Pheidias und Kolotes," Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, XXVIII (1913), 342 ff.; H. Schrader, Phidias (Frankfurt, 1924), pp. 25 ff.; Busolt, Gr. Ges., III, Teil I, 457 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Plut. Per. xxxii. For the attacks on Pericles' friends cf. Camb. Anc. Hist., V, 477 ff.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. supra, p. 67. Smyth (Greek Melic Poets, p. 228) has compared Sappho's circle of maidens to whom she gave instruction in music, poetry, and dancing, to the circle of youths who gathered about Socrates. Only in Lesbos could such a circle as that of Sappho have been formed. The Lesbian women were allowed a



gathered about Socrates wherever he happened to be, was perhaps the forerunner of Plato's school in his garden near the Academy, where a regular program was pursued.<sup>1</sup> Schools were also held by rhetoricians such as Isocrates<sup>2</sup> and the sophists gave special courses for set fees.<sup>3</sup>

Two circles such as might have flourished during the last quarter of the fifth century at Athens are described in the Symposia of Xenophon and Plato. The occasion for Xenophon's Symposium was the victory of the boy athlete Autolycus in the pancration at the Panathenaea, probably in 421. In honor of this event Callias, who was enamoured of the boy, gave a banquet to which were also invited the boy's father, Lycon; Niceratus, the son of the general Nicias; Hermogenes, brother of Callias; Socrates, who was persuaded to attend by a promise of philosophical discourse; and some of the followers of Socrates, Antisthenes, later founder of the Cynic school; Charmides, the uncle of Plato; and Critobulus, son of Crito the wealthy friend of Socrates. Besides the guests

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freedom found nowhere else in Greece. They were not excluded from masculine company, they were often well educated, and they formed literary circles of their own for the cultivation of music and poetry. Such a circle was the school over which Sappho presided, a group which was perhaps bound together by ties religious as well as literary. The lives of her pupils must have been enriched by their association with their teacher who was passionately devoted to them. Cf. Symonds, Studies of the Greek Poets, I, 291 f.; Wilamowitz, Sappho und Simonides, p. 77; Bowra, Gr. Lyr. Poetry, pp. 187 ff.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Shorey, What Plato Said, pp. 28 ff.; G. Grote, Plato and the Other Companions of Socrates (London, 1888), I, 254 ff. Plato's Academy still retained some informality. No fees were charged or accepted by Plato, who was wealthy enough to need no additional source of income. Aristotle, too, seems to have conducted his Lyceum without fees. He had, however, received liberal gifts from his student, Alexander the Great (cf. supra, p. 54). Other disciples of Socrates did start schools at which fees were collected. Aristippus was said to have been the first of the Socratics to collect fees (Diog. Laert. ii. 65). No doubt the later Academy was supported by fees. Cf. E. Zeller, Pre-Socratic Philosophy, trans. Alleyne (London, 1881), II, 438, and Plato and the Older Academy, trans. Alleyne and Goodwin (London, 1888), pp. 25 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Christ, op. cit., I, 565 f.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Diog. Laert. ix. 50, 52; Diod. xii. 53. 2; Plato Prot. 328 B. Cf. Zeller, Pre-Soc. Phil., II, 436 ff.

a professional parasite and a Syracusan entertainer with his troupe were introduced to give an air of reality and a little comic relief. Entertainment and joking among the guests were followed by conversation of a more serious turn in which each one set forth what he considered his most precious possession. In Plato's Symposium the tragedian Agathon is represented as giving a banquet in honor of his first victory, in 416. Among the company were Socrates; Aristodemus, constant companion of Socrates;<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, here and elsewhere represented as the lover of Agathon;<sup>2</sup> Phaedrus, friend of Plato, who also appears in the dialogue which bears his name; Eryximachus, a physician; and the comedian Aristophanes. After the banquet they decided to turn out the flute girl and devote themselves to conversation, the topic being eulogy of Love. The portrayal of such imaginary scenes by Xenophon and Plato suggests that similar gatherings must have occurred in Athens from time to time, with philosophical and literary discussions the usual trend of the conversation. That such gatherings often included literary men is suggested by the presence of Agathon and Aristophanes in Plato's group. Echoes of such men's literary discussions coming to the ears of others throughout the city might add or detract considerably from the reputation of any writer. It is quite possible that young authors may have been proteges of such groups and may have received invaluable assistance from the criticism and aid that men of literary taste were able to give. Furthermore the commendation of such men would increase the reputation of a young author and in the case of dramatic poets it might be a factor in their being granted choruses by the archon.

Another type of circle was that which gathered about any famous teacher who happened to visit Athens. Such is the picture provided by Plato's Protagoras. The presence of outstanding sophists and their followers in the house of Callias attracted to it many Athenians eager to listen to the discourses of Protagoras, Hippias, and Prodicus.

Such circles as have been mentioned existed because of the keen intellectual life of the Athenian democracy. When a group of Athenians was gathered together the conversation was almost sure to turn to a discussion of the plays that had just been produced or the speeches delivered in the assembly that day. Such discussion was a challenge to writers and orators to put forth their best efforts and so provided a real stimulus for the continuation of intellectual life in the city. If, as must sometimes

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<sup>1</sup>Plato Symp. 173 B.

<sup>2</sup>Plato Prot. 315 D; Aelian V. H. 11. 21.

have happened, a group of literary men showed an interest in a youthful author his reputation was already partly made.

Oratory was one of the fields of literary activity which appealed most strongly to the Athenians, who were always ready to listen to a clever speaker. The Athenian law which required citizens to plead their own cases in the law courts was an indirect encouragement to oratory as a literary art. While many of the Athenians, trained in the assemblies and the law courts, must have had a good deal of ability as speakers, many more felt a lack of skill sufficient to compose speeches which could compete with those of skilled opponents. Because of this a class of professional speech writers arose.<sup>1</sup> Such men as Antiphon, Lysias, and many others made their living composing speeches to be delivered by others. Besides writers of speeches there were also teachers of rhetoric, such as Isocrates, who endeavored to help men to compose and deliver their own speeches.

A man who possessed unusual ability as an orator was always looked upon with admiration by the Greeks. One indication of the honor accorded to oratory is the frequency with which outstanding speakers were chosen as ambassadors. Diplomatic relations were carried on not by correspondence between officials, as is now usually the case, but by word of mouth before the assembly; so that the more persuasive a speaker the ambassador was, the more successful his mission would probably be. Gorgias made his first appearance in Athens in 427 as an ambassador from Leontini and her allies, who desired the aid of Athens against Syracuse.<sup>2</sup> Prodicus of Ceos was another sophist and orator who came to Athens as a member of an embassy and found a welcome after he arrived.<sup>3</sup> Hippias of Elis is said to have gone on more embassies in behalf of his city than any other Greek.<sup>4</sup> Among the members of embassies sent from Athens to Philip were Aeschines and Demosthenes, the outstanding orators in Athens at that time.

The importance of the assembly made parliamentary oratory a very important branch of public speaking in Athens. Important issues were decided in the assembly and foreign ambassadors appeared before it. The critical attitude of the Athenians made careful preparation necessary and was no doubt largely responsible for the literary excellence of Athenian oratory. It is said that Demosthenes would not speak extemporaneously if it could be

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Christ, op. cit., I, 543.

<sup>2</sup>Diod. xii. 53; Plato Hippias Maior 282 B.

<sup>3</sup>Philostratus Vitae Soph. i. 12.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., i. 11.

avoided.<sup>1</sup> The impression made upon the Athenians by good oratory is indicated by such passages as Eupolis' famous description of Pericles' ability as a speaker<sup>2</sup> and by the account of the pleasure with which they listened to Gorgias, who was speaking in a style quite new.<sup>3</sup>

Listening to epideictic orations was no doubt a favorite amusement of the Athenians. The Olympic games furnished one opportunity for the delivery of such speeches,<sup>4</sup> but it is likely that there were occasions in Athens when there might be similar exhibitions of oratorical skill. Perhaps at Athenian festivals, such as the Panathenaea, when large crowds would be assembled, orators sometimes addressed the throng. The interest of the Athenians in public speaking and the high development of oratory at Athens are shown not only by the remains of that oratory itself but also in other branches of literature. The drama, especially the drama of Euripides, often has a highly rhetorical flavor. The long speeches and the violent arguments of which Euripides is fond show the influence of the popular rhetoric. Not only poetry but also prose was influenced by oratory. The style of Thucydides shows traces of the influence of Gorgias and Antiphon. The Athenians appreciated good oratory and they were extremely critical of mistakes in pronunciation and the use of words. Demosthenes proved Aeschines a μισθωτός, "hireling," once by asking the audience if he were not a μισθωτός, whereupon the crowd roared back the corrected pronunciation, μισθωτός.<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps the highest honor that could be bestowed upon an orator at Athens was his selection to deliver the oration at the public funeral accorded annually during time of war to the men who had fallen in battle. The custom of a public funeral at Athens was probably originated some time after the Persian wars.<sup>6</sup> After the other observances in honor of the dead an oration was delivered by a man who had been selected because of his outstanding ability.<sup>7</sup> According to Demosthenes it was only at Athens

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<sup>1</sup>Plut. Dem. ix. 2. Cf. R. Jebb, The Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeus (London, 1893), I, p. lxxi.

<sup>2</sup>Fr. 94 K. Cf. Aristoph. Ach. 530 f.

<sup>3</sup>Diod. xii. 53. 3. Cf. Jebb, Attic Orators, I, p. cxxxii f. for a description of the political scene at Athens.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. supra, p. 75.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. R. J. Bonner, Lawyers and Litigants in Ancient Athens (Chicago, 1927), pp. 163 ff.

<sup>6</sup>Diod. xi. 33. 3. Cf. Christ. op. cit., I, 543 f.

<sup>7</sup>Thuc. ii. 34. 6; Plato Menex. 234 B.



that eulogistic speeches were delivered at the public funerals.<sup>1</sup> An orator who was chosen for this duty must have felt that he had received one of the highest honors that he could hope to attain. Among the funeral orations of which there is a record are two by Pericles, one delivered in 440 over those who fell in the Samian war,<sup>2</sup> and the other, of which the substance is preserved by Thucydides, delivered at the close of the first year of the Peloponnesian war.<sup>3</sup> There are fragments of a speech by Gorgias<sup>4</sup> and an oration, perhaps by Lysias, in praise of those who fell in the Corinthian war.<sup>5</sup> It is surprising that men who were not Athenian citizens should have been chosen to deliver orations on such occasions, so it is possible that the speeches of Gorgias and Lysias were written as exercises or models and were not intended to be delivered.<sup>6</sup> Plato's Menexenus is also a model funeral oration. Besides these there is a real oration, attributed to Demosthenes, in honor of those who fell at Chaeronea<sup>7</sup> and another by Hyperides for those who died in the Lamian war in 323-322.<sup>8</sup> The plan of the funeral oration is somewhat similar in all cases. There is lengthy praise of the past and present glories of Athens, praise and lamentation for the fallen soldiers, and consolation for their loss.<sup>9</sup> The speech of Pericles, reported by Thucydides, departs somewhat from the usual plan. Pericles dismissed the past glories of Athens with a few words but spoke at length in praise of the Athens of his day in comparison with Sparta, eulogizing its government and the character of its people. Praise of the city was considered by him sufficient praise for its fallen warriors. Little time was spent in expressions of grief but there was con-

<sup>1</sup>xx. 141.

<sup>2</sup>Plut. Per. viii. 9.

<sup>3</sup>Thuc. ii. 35 ff.

<sup>4</sup>Philos. Vitae Soph. i. 9. 3.

<sup>5</sup>Lysias ii.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. F. W. Blass, Die Attische Beredsamkeit (2nd ed.; Leipzig, 1887-98), I, 60.

<sup>7</sup>[Demos.] lx.

<sup>8</sup>vi.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. T. C. Burgess, Epidictic Literature (Chicago, 1902), pp. 146 ff. for a good account of funeral orations. Another occasion on which oratory was a part of funeral ceremonies was the funeral games held in honor of Mausolus of Caria by his wife, Artemisia, in 353. At these games Artemisia held a contest of orators for which she offered prizes both of money and other honors. The competitors were Theodectes, who also composed a tragedy in honor of Mausolus (Suidas, Theodectes), Theopompus of Chios, Naucrates of Erythrae, and Isocrates of Apollonia, a pupil of the great Isocrates (Gellius N. A. x. 18; Suidas Ἰσοκράτης Ἀμύκλα). Theopompus was the victor.

solation in the thought of the honor that the dead had won for themselves and their city.

The literary interest of the Athenians was by no means confined to oratory. Historical prose, particularly that dealing with their own history, appealed to them. A legend reports that Herodotus read his history, or part of it, before an Athenian audience. Thucydides, then a small boy, is said to have been in the audience and to have been moved to tears by the recital whereupon the elder historian remarked that he was boy eager for learning.<sup>1</sup> This part of the story is no doubt due to the Greek love of associating prominent names. It is further reported that the Athenians decreed a gift of ten talents to Herodotus because of their pleasure in his history.<sup>2</sup> According to Kirchhoff this is one of the best attested facts in the life of the historian and wholly without grounds for doubt.<sup>3</sup> But Jacoby points out that the amount of the gift is quite out of proportion to other similar gifts of the Athenian democracy to literary men. A gift that was greater than many Athenian fortunes seems hardly credible whatever its purpose. Jacoby suggests that an error has been made in the figure or in the reason which prompted the gift or perhaps in both. That a sum of money was given to Herodotus by the Athenians is not to be doubted.<sup>4</sup> Since there was a gift, that it was occasioned by Athenian appreciation of the historian's literary work seems to be the most reasonable explanation.

Cleidemus, an Athenian historian of probably about the middle of the fourth century who wrote a work on Attica, was honored with a golden crown by the Athenians because of his historical style.<sup>5</sup>

Aristophanes poked fun at the Athenians for their readiness to listen to anyone who flattered them. They sat up and took notice when someone spoke of their "shining" or their "violet-crowned" city.<sup>6</sup> The poet who first applied these epithets to Athens was Pindar. He was much honored by the Athenians, probably because of the dithyramb in which those famous lines had occurred.<sup>7</sup> According to Isocrates the Athenians were so pleased that they

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<sup>1</sup>Marcellinus Vita Thuc. 54.

<sup>2</sup>Plut. Mor. 862b.

<sup>3</sup>Über die Entstehungszeit des Herodotischen Geschichtswerkes (2nd ed.; Berlin, 1878), pp. 10 f.

<sup>4</sup>"Herodotus," Pauly-Wissowa, Supplement II, 227 ff.

<sup>5</sup>Tertullian De Anima 52. 3. Cf. F. Jacoby, "Kleidemos," Pauly-Wissowa.

<sup>6</sup>Ach. 636 ff.

<sup>7</sup>Pindar fr. 76 Schr. Cf. Wilamowitz, Pindaros, pp. 272 ff.

made Pindar their proxenus and gave him a thousand drachmas.<sup>1</sup> The tale that the Thebans fined the poet for his praises of their Athenian foes and that the Athenian gift was in payment of that fine is probably a later accretion to the story.<sup>2</sup> At some time a further honor was paid to Pindar at Athens by the erection of a bronze statue of him in the Stoa Basileus.<sup>3</sup>

The Athenians never tired of recalling their exploits at Marathon and Salamis. Choerilus of Samos, the epic poet who spent some of his life at the court of Archelaus of Macedon and who was also in the train of Lysander, wrote an epic on the Persian wars, particularly the Athenian victory over Xerxes. This poem met with such favor at Athens that the citizens voted to reward the poet with a gold stater for every line. Besides this his poem was allowed the great honor of being recited along with Homer at the Panathenaea, an honor accorded to no other epic.<sup>4</sup>

The branch of Greek literature which reached its highest development at Athens and which owes its perfection in part to the enthusiastic support given to it by the Athenians and their government was the drama. Nowhere else in Greece were there dramatic festivals of such magnificence as those at Athens. Those that did exist elsewhere were no doubt modelled on the Athenian festivals. Competition in tragedy was first introduced under state protection in 534 during the reign of the Pisistratidae.<sup>5</sup> What had been begun by the tyrants was enthusiastically carried on under the democracy which produced the great artists of Greek drama, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes.

The rude beginnings of comedy were as early as those of tragedy but it did not receive state recognition until much later than tragedy.<sup>6</sup> According to Capps the introduction of comedy at the Dionysia probably occurred in 487.<sup>7</sup> Comedy was perhaps regarded with suspicion in some circles for a time, even after it had been given an official place at the festivals, for there is mention of a law prohibiting members of the Areopagus from writing comedy.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps such a pursuit was regarded as beneath their dignity.

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<sup>1</sup>xv. 166.

<sup>2</sup>Ps.-Aeschines Ep. iv. 3; Eustathius Vita Pind. 28.

<sup>3</sup>Ps.-Aesc., loc. cit.; Paus. i. 8. 4.

<sup>4</sup>Suidas, Χοηρίλος, Σάμιος. Cf. supra, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. supra, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup>Aristot. Poetics v, 1449 b 1.

<sup>7</sup>The Introduction of Comedy into the City Dionysia (Chicago, 1903).

<sup>8</sup>Plut. Mor. 348b.

Ordinarily during the fifth century dramas were presented only once at Athens and the revival of plays after their author's death did not become customary until some time in the next century. The tragedian Aeschylus, however, received a special honor from the Athenian people after his death, for it was decreed that the archon should grant a chorus to anyone who wished to present one of Aeschylus' plays.<sup>1</sup> In the Frogs of Aristophanes Aeschylus was made to protest that his contest with Euripides would be quite unfair, since his poetry had not died with him as Euripides' had.<sup>2</sup> Aristophanes' Frogs is one of the most delightful of the works of that comedian which are extant today. It must have seemed just as delightful to the Athenian audience, for they not only rewarded Aristophanes with a crown of the sacred olive, an honor more to be esteemed than a golden crown, but they decreed a second presentation of the play.<sup>3</sup>

It may seem a bit strange that historical dramas were so rarely attempted by the Greek tragedians, but apparently the Greeks did not enjoy contemplating scenes of tragedy too closely related to themselves. The Persae of Aeschylus did meet with their approval and was awarded first prize. Perhaps because the scene was laid in the far-away Persian capital and the characters were Persians the play was given an air of unreality somewhat akin to that of the usual mythical subjects and the audience was not distressed by it.<sup>4</sup> When Phrynichus attempted a historical drama he was not so successful. A tragedy dealing with the capture of Miletus in 494 so distressed the Athenians by the spectacle of the misfortunes of their fellow Greeks that they fined Phrynichus one thousand drachmas and decreed that thereafter no one should present plays of a similar nature.<sup>5</sup>

There are not many countries where success in literary art would be regarded as a criterion on which to base election to important military posts, yet there are traditions that report the choice of both Phrynichus and Sophocles as generals for this very reason. It was reported that Phrynichus had been elected general because of the warlike nature of some of his choral songs.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Schol. Aristoph. Ach. 10; "Vita Aeschyli," Script. Gr., p. 121.

<sup>2</sup>868 f.

<sup>3</sup>Frogs, Arg. 1; "Vita Aristoph," Script. Gr., p. 157.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Norwood, Gr. Tragedy, pp. 87 ff.; Haigh, Tragic Drama, p. 105.

<sup>5</sup>Herod. vi. 21. Cf. Haigh, Tragic Drama, p. 44; Norwood, Gr. Tragedy, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup>Aelian V. H. 111. 8.



Sophocles was chosen because of the Antigone.<sup>1</sup> Both of these tales are found in late and unreliable sources and probably should not be taken seriously. There seems to be no corroborating evidence. Whether or not Phrynichus and Sophocles served as military commanders apparently later poets did not, for after the comedian Eupolis had been killed in a naval battle in the Hellespont, perhaps in 411, it was decreed that poets should no longer be permitted to take part in military campaigns.<sup>2</sup>

The question arises in connection with the discussion of the state control of the drama as to how the poets were selected who were to take part in the competition. The general arrangements for the dramatic festivals were in charge of the archon eponymus in the case of the Dionysia and the archon basileus in the case of the Lenaea.<sup>3</sup> The question immediately arises as to how the archon was guided in his choice of poets from among the applicants. He was an official chosen by lot from the whole body of citizens. While the Athenians as a group seem to have possessed a rather highly developed appreciation of literature, still the ordinary citizen was not a skilled literary critic and it is not to be supposed that the archon, chosen at random, would be a person of any particular literary discernment. Faced with a literary task of great importance, how did he proceed? The difficulty of the archon's task would depend to some extent on the number of poets who submitted plays. In case there were only three applicants the archon could do no more than grant them all choruses. If, however, the applicants exceeded the required number the difficulties of selection would increase in proportion to the number of poets seeking the privilege of presenting their plays. Unfortunately there is no means of conjecturing the probable number of hopeful poets, which no doubt fluctuated from year to year.

The fact that the archon had to render an account at the end of his term of office does not provide much help in this discussion. Haigh says: "Probably in most years the poets of the highest reputation were chosen. In a city like Athens, where the magistrates were entirely at the mercy of the people, it would be impossible for them to disregard public opinion in a very flagrant manner."<sup>4</sup> Whether, if the archon made public opinion his guide, the best plays would always be chosen is a debatable question. The individual who, when he recorded the defeat of Sophocles'

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<sup>1</sup>Soph. Anti., Arg. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Suidas, Eupolis.

<sup>3</sup>Haigh, Attic Theatre, chap. 11 discusses at some length the external arrangements of dramatic productions.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

Oedipus by Philocles, exclaimed, "ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί,"<sup>1</sup> apparently was not impressed with the infallibility of public opinion, if it is assumed that public opinion as it was expressed during the course of a play was an important factor in the judges' decisions. Public opinion even at its best would form a rather uncertain guide. It is apt to be fickle and in addition great variation in the excellence of different works of the same author is conceivable. Also, in the event of an excellent play being submitted by a previously unknown author, a man guided only by popular opinion would probably reject it in favor of an established dramatist, even though he might be an inferior one. No doubt public opinion often proved a useful guide to the archon. Nevertheless evidence shows that his choice did not always meet with popular approval. Cratinus censured the archon who refused a chorus to Sophocles:

ὅς οὐκ ἔδωκ' αἰτοῦντι Σοφοκλέει χορόν,  
τῷ Κλεομάχου δ', ὃν οὐκ ἂν ἤξιουν ἐγὼ  
ἐμοὶ διδάσκειν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς Ἀδώνια.<sup>2</sup>

Other comic fragments indicate that this son of Cleomachus, Gnesippus, was regarded as a distinctly inferior poet.<sup>3</sup> It is impossible to tell how the archon came to make this choice but perhaps he was influenced by personal friendship, bribery, or some other form of undue influence. Numerous references to plays being treated with obvious disapproval, even to the extent of their presentation being halted, indicate that the judgment of the archon was by no means infallible and did not always correspond to popular opinion. Aristophanes implies that a play presented by Magnes in his old age was hissed off the stage--ἐκβάλλω is the regular term for such action--because his wit seemed to have lost its edge.<sup>4</sup>

The Athenian audience must have been very critical. Slips made by dramatists were apt to be fatal. The Amphiaraios of Carcinus was halted because Carcinus had made the hero, Amphiaraios, rise from a temple, ἐξ ἱεροῦ ἀνῆει.<sup>5</sup> Aristotle, after relating this incident, says:

"Those who have made the whole sack of Troy their theme, and not treated it episodically, as did Euripides, or have written about Niobe, not after the model of Aeschylus, have either been hissed off the stage, or at least have been defeated. For Agathon failed on this account alone."<sup>6</sup> Agathon must have written a drama dealing with a series of events

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<sup>1</sup>Aristides, II, 334, ed. Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup>Cratinus fr. 15 Kock.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., fr. 256; Chionides fr. 4 K.

<sup>4</sup>Knights 524 f.

<sup>5</sup>Aristot. Poetics xvii, 1455 a 27.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., xviii, 1456 a 16.

rather than a single episode. Apparently such a play did not appeal to the Athenian audience and was a dismal failure. According to a story told by Plutarch, Euripides' play, Melanippe, was hissed because it began with the line:

Ζεὺς, ὅστις ὁ Ζεὺς, οὐ γὰρ οἶδα πλὴν λόγῳ.

He later tried again with a revision of the Melanippe in which the fatal line had been changed to read:

Ζεὺς, ὡς λέλεκται τῆς ἀληθείας ὑπο.<sup>1</sup>

The Athenians were forceful in their methods of expressing disapproval. They hooted and hissed and kicked their heels against their seats.<sup>2</sup> The performers were pelted with figs, grapes, and olives,<sup>3</sup> and sometimes even stones were thrown. According to Demosthenes, Aeschines was hissed and almost stoned to death because of his bad acting.<sup>4</sup> There is also the story of a poor musician who borrowed stones with which to build a house and promised to pay them back with interest after his next public appearance.<sup>5</sup> Scorn was not always so violently expressed. A bored audience sometimes got out its lunches and peanuts.<sup>6</sup> The story of the treatment of Aeschines shows that not only the intrinsic merit of a play but also external matters such as the staging and acting played an important part in the final result.

That the attitude of the audience toward a drama played an important part in the final decision of the judges is evidenced by the numerous references in Aristophanes to the attitude of the spectators and by the plays which were sometimes made to the audience for the purpose of winning favor. In line 58 of the Wasps the slaves declare that they are not a pair who are going to cast nuts at the spectators. In the Peace, however, during the sacrifice barley was thrown to the audience as if to include the spectators in the rite.<sup>7</sup> The purpose of such actions must have been to win the favor of the audience. Slap-stick comedy was often indulged in, in order to produce a laugh.<sup>8</sup> In the opening scene of the Knights the slave Nicias says: "Let's ask one thing, that they [the audience] make plain to us by their countenances whether they're pleased by our words and antics."<sup>9</sup> In the parabasis of the Clouds Aristophanes laid the blame for the failure of the

<sup>1</sup>Plut. Mor. 756c.

<sup>2</sup>Pollux iv. 122.

<sup>3</sup>Demos. xviii. 262.

<sup>4</sup>xix. 337.

<sup>5</sup>Ath. vi. 245d.

<sup>6</sup>Aristot. Nic. Eth. 1175 b 10. For the attitude of the audience cf. Haigh, Attic Theatre, pp. 343 ff.; Flickinger, op. cit., pp. 213 ff.

<sup>7</sup>962.

<sup>8</sup>Clouds 540 ff.

<sup>9</sup>37 ff.

first edition of that play on the audience who had failed to receive it with enthusiasm in spite of its merits.<sup>1</sup> He also mentioned the favorable reception by the spectators of his earlier plays, which had been produced by Callistratus:

ὁμεῖς δ' ἐξεθρέψατε γενναίως κάπαιδεύσατε·

ἐκ τούτου μοι πιστὰ παρ' ὁμῖν γνώμης ἔσθ' ὄρκια.<sup>2</sup>

At the close of the Wasps the chorus sang: "Flourish a nimble foot, and let some one dance the Phrynichean fling; so that the spectators, seeing his leg in the air, may cry, 'Oh!'"

ταχὺν πόδα κυκλοσοβεῖτε,

καὶ τὸ φρυγίχειον

ἐκλακτισάτω τις, ὅπως

ἰδόντες ἄνω σκέλος ὦ-

ζωσιν οἱ θεαταί.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps the scenes of revelry in which so many of the plays end, for instance the Peace and the Lysistrata, were composed in order that the audience might exclaim. The claque was not unknown in Athens. An epistle of Alciphron, although a late source, is interesting in this connection. A certain Philaporus, who had just taken up the actor's profession, wrote to a friend to inform him of his new occupation and to request the friend to be present at his first appearance with a large party of supporters prepared to make enough noise in applause to drown out the hisses.<sup>4</sup> The passages just cited furnish sufficient proof that the reaction of the audience was the important factor in the final decision of the dramatic contests. Aeschines provides the information that the contest judges were sometimes fined for unsatisfactory decisions.<sup>5</sup> He mentions the judges of the cyclic choruses, but of course if the judges of one contest could be fined so could the judges of any other contest.

Some one may ask, "If the judges could be fined for an unpopular decision, why could not the archons be fined for an unpopular selection of plays, since the selection was not always given popular approval?" It can not be asserted that the archons could not be punished, but the two instances are quite different. If the judges had flagrantly violated public opinion which had just been expressed in the theatre, probably in no uncertain terms, a charge could easily be proved against them. Furthermore a conviction would serve to warn future judges that the reactions of the audience were not to be disregarded. But the situation as

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<sup>1</sup>518 ff.

<sup>3</sup>1523 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Clouds 532 f.

<sup>4</sup>111. 35.

<sup>5</sup>Ctes. 232, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κριτὰς τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Διονυσίων, ἂν μὴ δικάως τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς κρίνωσι, ζημιοῦτε.



regards the archon is not the same at all. The archon had to make an independent choice, which might be guided in some measure by public opinion as it had been expressed in previous years. Public opinion, however, was an uncertain guide. Aristophanes says in the Knights: "I've known for a long time that your natures change with the seasons and that you've betrayed former poets in their old age."<sup>1</sup> The following lines indicate that the fortunes of Magnes, Cratinus, and Crates were subject to fluctuation. The defeat of Aristophanes' Clouds the year after the victory of the Knights also shows that one year's favorite might not be well received the next year. Besides there is no doubt that the quality of the work of one dramatist might vary a great deal. In the case of a new poet public opinion would be of little use. All this not only shows that public opinion was an uncertain crutch for the archon to depend on but also should indicate that it would be a difficult matter to prosecute the archon on a charge of having disregarded it or on a charge of having shown poor literary judgment. Either charge would be well-nigh impossible to prove and if a conviction should be secured little value would accrue from it. Literary taste could not be inculcated in that fashion and since the man would probably never be archon again it would be of no advantage if it could. Certainly the conviction of one archon for a lapse of literary judgment would be of no help to his successor, faced again with the problem of the selection of poets.

If public opinion was of uncertain value in helping the archon to reach a decision, what other aid may he have had? According to Aristotle the archon eponymus, the archon basileus, and the polemarch each had two παρῆδοι to assist them in their offices.<sup>2</sup> These παρῆδοι were appointed by the officials in question, but had to be approved in the dicasterion and, like other public officials, were subject to an examination when their term of office expired. Apparently the παρῆδοι could assist the archon in any of his official duties and it seems reasonable to assume that he would appoint them with a view to his own limitations, in order to have assistance in the duties which would be the most difficult for him. Probably the παρῆδοι were sometimes asked to assist in the selection of poets and perhaps the archon sometimes chose at least one of his associates with that man's literary insight in mind. If a παρῆδοι was a man with some ability as a literary critic he might be of great assistance to the archon in the selection of poets.

Supposing that the archon in his selection did depend

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<sup>1</sup>Knights 518 f.

<sup>2</sup>Const. of Athens lvi. 1.

largely on his knowledge of poets previously favored by the Athenian audiences, a young poet seeking to present his first play would be faced with great difficulties. It is possible that young poets may have been recommended by friends who were recognized as excellent literary critics. A scene such as that of Plato's Symposium indicates that there were groups of literary men at Athens. Such groups may have known something of the work of young poets and have discussed those who showed promise. Echoes of such discussions coming to the ears of the archon may have influenced him to give recognition to these budding authors.<sup>1</sup>

In the aspiring poet's difficulties in securing recognition may be found at least a partial explanation of the production of plays by persons other than the authors. Perhaps sometimes the man producing another's play was an individual, not necessarily a poet himself, who was a respected literary critic and whose sponsoring of a play would prevail on the archon to accept it. Such a situation is one possible explanation of the relationship between Aristophanes and Callistratus. The problem of this relationship has produced much discussion but the opinions on the subject are almost as numerous as the persons who have discussed it.<sup>2</sup>

This Aristophanic problem is further complicated by the fact that Aristophanes produced not only his earliest plays but also some of the later ones under the names of others. His three earliest plays, the Babylonians,<sup>3</sup> the Banqueters,<sup>4</sup> and the Acharnians,<sup>5</sup> were produced by Callistratus. The Knights was produced in his own name,<sup>6</sup> and the Clouds may have been produced in his name or perhaps in that of Philonides. Although the corrupt argument of the Wasps seems to assign that play to Philonides, nevertheless the parabasis with its comments on the production of plays by others seems to indicate that this play was produced by Aristophanes himself.<sup>7</sup> The argument has been similarly emended to give the Wasps first place with Aristophanes as producer by

<sup>1</sup>Cf. supra, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. T. Kock, De Philonide et Callistrato (Guben, 1855); E. Meyer, De Aristophanearum Fabularum Commissionibus (Berlin, 1863); A. Briel, De Callistrato et Philonide (Berlin, 1887); M. Croiset, Histoire de la Littérature Grecque (Paris, 1891), III, 517 ff.; Haigh, Attic Theatre, pp. 51 f.

<sup>3</sup>Suidas, Σαπίων ὁ ὅμιλος. <sup>4</sup>Schol. Clouds 531.

<sup>5</sup>Ach., arg. i.

<sup>6</sup>Knights, arg. ii; schol. Kn. 503.

<sup>7</sup>1017 ff.

both Rogers<sup>1</sup> and E. Petersen.<sup>2</sup> The Proagon, presented at the same festival as the Wasps, was probably also a play of Aristophanes but was presented by Philonides. Of the other plays, the Birds<sup>3</sup> and the Lysistrata<sup>4</sup> are known to have been produced by Callistratus and the Amphiaraios<sup>5</sup> and the Frogs<sup>6</sup> by Philonides. It is stated in the argument to the Plutus that that was the last play presented by Aristophanes in his own name. The last two plays, the Κώκαλος and the Αἰοοσίκων were produced by his son Aratus.<sup>7</sup> How many of the other plays may have been produced by Aristophanes or by someone else can not be determined. The following statement concerning the production of Aristophanes' plays occurs in Anonymus On Comedy: ἐδίδαξε δὲ πρῶτον ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Διοτίμου διὰ Καλλιστράτου· τὰς μὲν γὰρ πολιτικὰς τούτῳ φασὶν αὐτὸν διδόναι, τὰ δὲ κατ' Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σωκράτους φιλωνίδῃ. διὰ δὲ τούτων νομισθεὶς ἀγαθὸς ποιητὴς τοὺς λοιποὺς (or τοῦ λοιποῦ) ἐπιγραφόμενος ἐνίκα. ἔπειτα τῷ υἱῷ ἐδίδου τὰ δράματα, ὄντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν μδ'. ὧν νόθα δ'.<sup>8</sup> This statement seems to indicate clearly a threefold division: plays presented by Callistratus and Philonides, plays presented by the poet himself, and plays presented by his son. Probably there were a considerable number which he presented himself. It is a curious fact that the first part of this statement is often quoted and attempts are made to fit almost all of the existing plays into this category but the second division, indicating plays presented under their author's auspices, is rarely mentioned.

Since Aristophanes did present many of his plays with substitute producers it is necessary to investigate his motives for doing so. Probably the same reasons were not responsible at all times. First to be considered is why he should have produced his first plays under the name of Callistratus. The information provided by the poet himself results in the conclusion that it was youth and inexperience which led him to produce his plays by proxy. In the Knights he says that he knew that the production of comedy--κωμῳδοδιδασκαλία--was a very difficult task and that many who tried it were unsuccessful and that he also knew the

<sup>1</sup>The Wasps of Aristophanes (London, 1915), pp. v ff.

<sup>2</sup>"Dichter und Chorlehrer," Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik, LXXXV (1862), 663.

<sup>3</sup>Birds, arg. i, ii.

<sup>4</sup>Lys., arg. i.

<sup>5</sup>Birds, arg. ii.

<sup>6</sup>Frogs, arg. i.

<sup>7</sup>Plutus, arg. iv.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. G. Kaibel, Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (Berlin, 1903), f. 8.

fickleness of audiences.<sup>1</sup> In the Clouds he implies that it was his youth which restrained him from producing plays in his own name.<sup>2</sup> There is no foundation, however, for the statement of the scholiast to the effect that there was a law forbidding a man to produce plays before he was thirty years old.<sup>3</sup>

Edmund Meyer maintained that it was not youthful modesty or the need of gaining recognition that prompted the employment of Callistratus but a desire of the poet to observe the reactions of the people to a new type of comedy without any danger to his reputation. According to Meyer the Aristophanic mode of attack on the State and on individuals was something new, to be tried with caution at first.<sup>4</sup> From what knowledge we have of comedy, however, it seems obvious that Aristophanes was not inaugurating a type of comedy entirely new but that some of his predecessors had indulged in attacks just as severe and abusive.

If the identity of Callistratus could be definitely determined some light might be shed on the problem, but nothing is known of him but the fact that he produced some of Aristophanes' plays. He may have been a poet himself; in which case, if he sponsored the work of a younger poet, his word would have some authority. Furthermore, whether or not he was a poet of much ability, he would have the technical knowledge necessary for the successful staging of a drama, a knowledge which an inexperienced author would not possess but which was very important in the final success of a play. An inexperienced poet, although he presented an excellent play, might lose because of faults in production. Line 1018 of the Wasps:

τὰ μὲν οὐ φανερώς ἀλλ' ἐπικουρῶν κρύβδην ἑτέροις ποιηταῖς,  
furnishes some substantiation for the view that Callistratus was a poet. It is known that Philonides, Aristophanes' other producer, was a poet. Suidas states that he was a poet of the old comedy and that his plays were Κόθορνοι, which is supposed to have been a satire of Theramenes; Ἀπῆνη; and Φιλέταιρος. No fragments of any of these plays are extant.

Another theory regards Callistratus and probably Philonides also as actors. According to a scholiast on the Clouds this was the case.<sup>5</sup> Meyer maintained that Callistratus was Aristophanes' protagonist, basing his argument on Acharnians 377 f.:

αὐτός τ' ἑμαυτὸν ὑπὸ Κλέωνος ἄπαθον

ἐπίσταμαι διδὲν τὴν πέρυσιν καμφοδίαν.

Meyer declares that these words can not be interpreted as spoken

<sup>1</sup>515 ff.

<sup>2</sup>530 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Schol. Clouds 510. Cf. Haigh, Attic Theatre, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup>Op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>5</sup>531.



in the person of the poet, or the supposed poet, but must have been spoken in the person of the actor playing the part of Dicaeopolis, namely Callistratus.<sup>1</sup> It seems much more natural, however, to suppose that for the moment the poet is speaking in his own person, since there is a violation of the dramatic illusion in any event.

The production of the early plays of Aristophanes by Callistratus, then, was in part due to the need of a new poet for a sponsor, in order that he might be assured of a favorable reception, and in part due to his inexperience in the direction and staging of a play. After the young poet's reputation had been established and he had gained experience in theatrical affairs these reasons could no longer be regarded as the motives for employing another as producer. Why then were some of Aristophanes' later comedies produced by others? The most reasonable answer is that the poet wished to avoid the responsibility and the expenditure of time necessary for the production of a play. Just what the duties of the poet in regard to the production of a drama were is difficult to determine. The use of the word διδάσκαλος, teacher, as synonymous with poet indicates that at least originally the poet trained the participants in the drama. Aristophanes' remark:

ἀλλὰ νομίζων

καμφοδοδισκαλίαν εἶναι χαλεπώτατον ἔργον ἀπάντων,<sup>2</sup>

seems to indicate that the duties of production which would fall upon the poet were arduous. The statement that Aeschylus did not use a dancing teacher but trained the chorus himself, even devising the figures which the chorus danced, must be understood as implying that after his time the training of the chorus was done by a special instructor and was no longer one of the poet's duties. Aeschylus also looked after all the other arrangements of the drama and probably these continued to be the duty of the poet.<sup>3</sup> Demosthenes mentions a certain Sannio, ὁ τοὺς τραγικοὺς χοροὺς διδάσκων, who was hired by a choregus.<sup>4</sup> Clearly this Sannio was not a poet but a man who devoted his attention to training choruses. If the chorus was trained by a special dancing master there would be left to the poet the coaching of the actors and the supervision of the general arrangements of production. This no doubt involved a heavy responsibility. These were the duties which Aristophanes as producer would have to undertake. In the fourth century the poets seem to have had assistants. In Plato's

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<sup>1</sup>Op. cit., pp. 29 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Knights 515 f.

<sup>3</sup>Ath. 1. 21e. Cf. Haigh, Attic Theatre, pp. 61 f.

<sup>4</sup>xi. 58.

Ion there is a reference to ὑποδιδασκάλων beside χορευτῶν and διδασκάλων.<sup>1</sup> The ὑποδιδάσκαλος was probably an assistant director, perhaps relieving the poet of most of his duties in connection with the production of plays. Whether a ὑποδιδάσκαλος was used in the time of Aristophanes is not known.

Another reason for the use of substitute producers is suggested by Van Leeuwen.<sup>2</sup> Aristophanes was probably accused by Cleon of ξενία at some time.<sup>3</sup> According to Van Leeuwen the charge was brought after the production of the Knights and resulted in Aristophanes' being convicted of being an alien. After this conviction he was disqualified from producing plays in his own name and always used a substitute. It is practically certain, however, that plays later than the Knights were produced in Aristophanes' own name. There is also no doubt that he was acquitted of the charge of ξενία. There probably was something in his ancestry, however, which made such a charge possible. The fragment of Eupolis:

ὅ τι παθόντες τοὺς ξένους μὲν λέγετε ποιητὰς σοφοὺς,  
ἦν δέ τις τῶν ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ μηδὲ ἔν χειρὸν φρονῶν  
ἐπιτιθῆται τῇ ποιήσει, πᾶν δοκεῖ κακῶς φρονεῖν,  
μαίνεται τε καὶ παραρρεῖ τῶν φρενῶν τῷ σῷ λόγῳ.  
ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεσθε πάντως. μεταβαλόντες τοὺς τρόπους  
μὴ φθονεῖθ' ὅταν τις ἡμῶν μουσικῇ χαίρῃ νέων.<sup>4</sup>

probably refers to Aristophanes but it does not prove that he was an alien but only that there was some suspicion. There appears to have been a bitter quarrel between Eupolis and Aristophanes. Probably Eupolis would have snatched at any opportunity to deride him.<sup>5</sup>

When Aristophanes presented a play under the auspices of another, probably Callistratus or Philonides, as the case might be, was officially regarded as the poet. It seems most reasonable, however, to assume that the identity of the real poet was common knowledge, to the archon as well as to the ordinary citizens. If the reason for employing the services of another was to gain a favorable hearing it must be assumed that the real poet was known. Otherwise little would be gained. That it was known

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<sup>1</sup>536 A.

<sup>2</sup>Aristophanis Vespae cum Prolegomenis et Commentariis (Leyden, 1903), p. xiii.

<sup>3</sup>"Vita Aristoph.", Script. Gr., p. 156; schol. Ach. 378.

<sup>4</sup>Fr. 357 K.

<sup>5</sup>For discussions of Aristophanes' status cf. Croiset, op. cit., III, 517; A. T. Murray, "The Citizenship of Aristophanes," Trans. and Proc. of the A. P. A., XXXIV (1903), pp. lxxxii ff.

that Aristophanes was the author of the earlier plays before he had produced any in his own name is evident from his statement in the Knights to the effect that many had been coming to him and seeking to know why he had never asked for a chorus in his own name.<sup>1</sup> This surely indicates that Aristophanes was well known as an author. Further indication that the situation was known is found in the taunts of contemporary comedians. Aristonymus in the "Ἡλῖος δῖγοῦς,"<sup>2</sup> Sannyrio in the Γέλως,<sup>3</sup> and Ameipsias<sup>4</sup> are said to have ridiculed Aristophanes as having been born on the fourth of the month, as was Heracles, because he spent his life toiling for others. Briel says, "It is plain that the comedians would not have said such things unless Callistratus and Philonides were thought by the people to be the true authors of Aristophanes' plays."<sup>5</sup> This is a most amazing idea. Such taunts would certainly have fallen flat unless the audience was well acquainted with the true situation.

Aristophanes is not the only poet known to have had his plays produced by others. Occasionally plays were first produced after their authors' deaths. The Oedipus Colonus of Sophocles was thus produced by his grandson Sophocles.<sup>6</sup> Similarly the Iphigeneia at Aulis, Alcmaeon, and Bacchae of Euripides were produced posthumously by his son.<sup>7</sup> The year that Aeschylus presented the Seven against Thebes Aristias was second with three tragedies of his own and a satyr play written by his father Pratinus.<sup>8</sup> In such cases as these there can be no doubt that the dramas were presented as the works of their real authors. Capps says that from the point of view of the judges plays of deceased poets and plays of living writers produced by others were the same. Therefore since in the first instance the real authors were known they were known in the other also.<sup>9</sup>

Several poets are known to have had their plays produced by others during their lifetimes. The Autolycus of Eupolis was produced by a man named Demonstratus.<sup>10</sup> Plutarch says of the tragedian Aphareus, a stepson of Isocrates, "Beginning in the archonship of Lysistratus he entered the contests at the City Dionysia and won two victories with Dionysius as producer and he won two other victories at the Lenaea with others as producers."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 512 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Fr. 4 K.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. 5 K.

<sup>4</sup> Fr. 28 K.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Oed. Col., arg. ii.

<sup>7</sup> Schol. Aristoph. Frogs 67.

<sup>8</sup> Aeschyl. Septem, arg. i.

<sup>9</sup> "Problems in the History of Attic Comedy," AJP, XXVIII

(1907), 189 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Ath. v. 216d.

<sup>11</sup> Mor. 839d.

Perhaps he always presented his plays by proxy. Since nothing further is known of either Demostratus or Dionysius they do not help in solving the question of the relationship of poet and producer.

Plato, the comedian, is said to have used in his Pisander the expression 'Αρχάδας μιμούμενοι, proverbial for toiling for others, since the Arcadians often served as mercenary soldiers. This expression Plato applied to himself because, pressed by poverty, he had sold some of his plays.<sup>1</sup> If he did engage in such transactions the fact that he was the real author of the plays, although perhaps a subject of rumor, was not officially known. The purchaser probably hoped to win glory for himself as a successful playwright.

In the case of the plays of Aristophanes produced by his son the true author may or may not have been known. If these plays were given to Aratus to produce as his own, in order to enable him to gain a reputation, the name of Aristophanes was probably not connected with them officially. Still in that case the problem of the young poet's gaining recognition would again arise. Perhaps the reason was merely to give Aratus an opportunity to gain useful experience in the production of drama, or else it was Aristophanes' own desire to escape the responsibility attendant on production. His son may have been only taking the place of Callistratus or Philonides. In this case Aristophanes would have been known as the poet.

It seems, then, that young poets sometimes used substitute producers. These men may have been poets themselves or, perhaps more likely, men of recognized literary taste. The recommendation of such men enabled new poets to obtain choruses. Their ability as stage directors made more certain the success of the first productions of young writers. In cases of the use of substitutes by dramatists of established reputation the motive was probably a desire to avoid the responsibilities incident to the production of plays. In any case there is no reasonable ground for doubt that the name of the author was known to everyone, archon as well as audience.

During the fifth century Athens was the literary center of Greece. Many of the outstanding writers of that age were Athenian citizens, but many who were not were attracted to the violet-crowned city because of its keen intellectual life and because of the encouragement that was given by the government to

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<sup>1</sup>Suidas, 'Αρχάδας μιμούμενοι.



literary activity of all kinds. It is possible, however, that Athens was not the only city in which state patronage was given to literary efforts. The relation of Sparta to literature has been discussed in chapter v. The fact that even the smallest and most remote towns seem to have had theatres and dramatic festivals indicates extensive encouragement to the dramatic art, although the plays presented in such places may most frequently have been the works of Athenian dramatists.<sup>1</sup>

There are a few other traces of state encouragement of literature. In Thebes Pausanias found a number of statues of mythical and actual poets, including Hesiod.<sup>2</sup> The Amphictyonic league was one of the patrons of Simonides.<sup>3</sup> Tradition reports a gift to Herodotus from the Corinthians because of his history.<sup>4</sup> Such scraps of information suggest that many Greek states may have offered some encouragement to literary artists. The Athenian democracy, however, remains preeminent as a state which was always ready to give encouragement to all sorts of literary endeavor. Although the importance of individual patrons can not be minimized still it was the encouragement offered to literature by the state coupled with the influence of religion which was the most important factor in the encouragement of Greek literature.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Flickinger, Greek Theater, p. 61; Haigh, Tragic Drama, p. 435.

<sup>2</sup>ix. 30. 2, 3.

<sup>3</sup>Herod. vii. 228.

<sup>4</sup>[Dio Chrys.] xxxvii. 7.







